Chapter Seven

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF LAND USE AND ADAPTATION

Throughout much of their history, the use and occupation of the Black Hills was organized around the social and economic practices of the tribal nations who lived in their reaches. Many of the early fur traders and the *engages* in their employ followed the lifestyles of local tribes, creating an existence that was adapted in one way or another "to the customs of the country." It was not until the 1850s, when European American emigrants started coming to the area in large numbers and when U.S. military personnel arrived to safeguard their passage, that qualitatively new sorts of ideas about occupancy and utilization started to press on the region. It was during the treaty-making era, after 1851, that a European American influence was felt most strongly on land use and occupation. Under the terms of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, the United States established a friendship agreement that established a protocol for the conduct of tribal nations in their dealings with each other and with the European Americans passing through their territories. It also defined tribal land boundaries and patterns of occupation, but it did so in foreign terms and in ways that completely misrepresented how local tribes actually distributed themselves across geographic space. In the next two decades, additional treaties would be entered into. These were not simply pacts of friendship but legal agreements for the relinquishment of vast tracts of tribal territory. In 1868, more treaties were negotiated between the United States Government and the Lakotas (and some of the Cheyennes and Arapahos in their midst) that reserved a huge tract of land known as the Great Sioux Reservation for their ownership and occupancy. In addition, two other vast territorial tracts became reserved hunting ranges for their shared use. In these treaties, the Black Hills were considered territory exclusively owned and controlled by the Lakotas, although two other tribal nations, the Cheyennes and Arapahos, were given rights to the Hills as well. When the Black Hills Expedition entered the area in 1874, its forces were technically trespassing on tribally owned land and when a burgeoning mining and ranching population began to occupy the Hills shortly after what the Lakotas call Custer's "Trail of Thieves," they were making settlements in and claims to an area that were also illegal under U.S. treaty law.

When the federal government decided to take ownership of the Hills out of tribal hands, it forced an agreement in 1877 with the Lakotas and their allies that led to the seizure of the Hills. Unable to challenge the agreement through legal or political means, local tribes were powerless to stop the rush of Americans making settlements in the Hills. The newcomers to the Black Hills established new ways of utilizing the land and very different patterns of ownership that would remain in place until the present. Meanwhile, the Lakotas (at times with the participation of the Cheyennes and Arapahos) began organizing to press their claim to the Black Hills. In the twentieth century, this led to litigation before the U.S. Court of Claims, the Indian Claims Commission, and the Supreme Court. While the Supreme Court reached a decision to award the Lakotas a monetary settlement for the illegal taking of the Black Hills, this award was never accepted. In the 1980s, representatives of eight federally recognized Lakota and Dakota tribes unanimously pushed for land recovery, and from 1985 to 1993, they attempted to get legislation before Congress that would enable the return of public lands in the Black Hills to tribal ownership. None of the bills, however, ever made it beyond the hearing stage. Today, the ownership of the Black Hills remains in a state of limbo. The Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos believe they still

hold treaty and aboriginal property rights in the area, while state, federal, and private landowners think otherwise and continue to fight Native claims.

Since the Black Hills are a contested terrain and will likely remain so into the near future, it is imperative that this report take some time to consider tribal relationships to this land before 1877 and to contrast these with the patterns of land use evolving after American domination of the region. This serves as a background for discussing in more detail the political and legal challenges the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos launched to regain access to and/or ownership of the Black Hills.

I. AMERICAN INDIAN RELATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

From prehistoric times through the era of European American settlement, there were certain general patterns of adaptation that the tribal peoples of the Black Hills shared in common with their neighbors in the greater region of the plains. A few patterns disappeared, while some displayed remarkable stability over time. Many more, however, were modified after the adoption of horses in the eighteenth century and the involvement of Native peoples in the European American fur and hide trades. After their forced removal to reservations in the 1870s, the tribal nations of the Black Hills had to adapt their means of making a livelihood even more to the presence of European Americans who had taken political and economic control over the region. European American adaptations and land strategies, however, were built around a set of goals, relationships, and ideas very different from those of the region's Native inhabitants.

In discussing tribal adaptive strategies and land use patterns, this chapter focuses largely on two tribal nations, the Lakotas and the Cheyennes. These are the two populations who had a continuous association with the southeastern region of the Black Hills, where Wind Cave National Park is located, from the late eighteenth century until the United States government took control over it in 1877. The Arapahos and other tribal nations who are known to have lived in this part of the Hills did so before the specific nature of their relationships was preserved either in oral traditions or written records. Although some information is covered on their associations to the southeastern Black Hills, it is not as detailed or as comprehensive as that presented on the Cheyennes and Lakotas.

A. Kin-Based Social Formations

Historically, American Indians from the plains region procured their livelihoods within systems of social relationship governed in large part by kinship or through associations modeled after kinship relations (Eggan 1937:35-98, 1966:45-77; Hassrick 1964:97-110; Maxwell 1978; Moore, J. 1996:145-173; Eggan and Maxwell 2001:977-979). Access to the lands on which local tribal nations settled and produced their subsistence was organized around kinship. Indeed, the language of kinship was pervasive in their lives, even defining the very nature of their relationships to the animals, plants, minerals, mountains, waterways, and other phenomena of the corporeal universe on whose existence their lives depended. It also extended to a spiritual realm whose numinous presence was manifested in all things and in all relationships in their living universe (Standing Bear 1978:193; DeMallie 1987:30-32; Detwiler 1992:239; Forbes-Boyte 1996:103; Moore, J. 1996:182). In brief, kinship embraced the structures, actions, behaviors, and sentiments that united people and that brought them into relationship with the world around them. When Lakotas say, *Mitakuye Oyasin*, "All my Relations," they are expressing their basic sense of connectedness to each other and to all that makes up the world around them. As Joseph Eppes Brown (1992:60) wrote: "It is the custom of men when they finished smoking the pipe together

to say *mitaku oyasin*. Here is affirmed the pervading conception of an essential and mysterious bond, binding together the people, the animals, the earth, and all that is."

In the perspectives of the Lakotas and Cheyennes who inhabited the Black Hills and their surrounding environments in the nineteenth century, the land, sky, and waters were alive. They had an animate presence. Every life form was implicated in the existence of another. There was a basic unity to all that exists. In the Lakota worldview, as one example, a peoples' existence was dependent on recognizing this connectedness and in respecting and caring for their relationships to everything that lived and made their own existence possible (Standing Bear 1978:192-195). In this perspective, the land its landscapes, and life forms, were not inanimate things over which humans exercised their dominion (Hassrick 1964:205, 226; Powers W. 1986:153). Each living form had its own unique and autonomous qualities. Humans existed on equal ground and in a reciprocal relationship to all other living forms that made up the web of life, and they needed to understand the limits and opportunities that these associations presented in the unfolding of their own lives (Mirsky 1937; Goldfrank 1943; Deloria, E. 1944; Lee 1959:59-69; Standing Bear 1978:194; Powers, W. 1986:153; Black Elk, C. 1992:45).

Similarly, the Cheyennes believed that everything was alive and subject to a larger 'natural order,' *xamaetoz* (Moore, J. 1996:182). From a Cheyenne perspective, when everything is in the place it belongs, the world is calm and at peace, but when things become disordered, there are consequences that are both tragic and comical (Moore, J. 1996:183). As with the Lakotas, the Cheyennes believe it is imperative to understand and respect where each life form is situated in the universe, and more specifically, how humans should behave properly in relation to life's myriad manifestations and the forces that stand behind and animate them (Schlesier 1987:4-12).

Given these philosophical premises, it is easy to understand why the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and other tribal nations of the plains did not see their relationship to the land and its various living resources as a form of exclusive ownership. As Melvin Gilmore (1919:33) wrote, the Lakotas: "truly venerated and loved" the earth, they "considered themselves not as owners or potential owners of any part of the land but as being wooed by the land which gave them birth and which supplied their physical needs from her bounty and satisfied their love of the beautiful by the beauty of her face in the landscape." Their rights to the places they lived and the resources whose lives they depended upon were based on ideas of usufruct. People had a right to partake of a particular space because they had established a proper relationship with the other living forms that occupied it. One of the best discussions of this kind of relationship is found in Karl Schlesier's work (1987:80) on the Cheyennes. Wherever they lived, the Cheyennes invoked a ceremony called the *Massaum* in which they established and renewed their kinship with a specific land and the animals, plants, and other life forms that lived there. Through this ceremony, the Cheyennes entered into a reciprocal relationship with the life forms on whose existence their own lives depended. It marked the territorial range in which the Cheyennes had secured "permission" to use the place for their own survival (Ibid.). Other ceremonies of the Cheyennes and their Lakota and Arapaho allies had similar meanings and consequences. In historic times, many of these were conducted in or near the Black Hills. One of them, the Sun Dance, is associated in a very special way with the region where Wind Cave National Park now stands, and this is discussed in more detail in Section Four.

In gaining rights to enter and use a specific area of land each tribal nation not only had to enter into relationships with non-human beings but also with the other peoples who resided there. As discussed very briefly in the last section, the tribal nations of the region formed complex and ever-changing alliances with each other. They did not distribute themselves across geographic space in terms of any sense of exclusive occupancy. Instead, they jointly shared the regions they

lived in, and this sharing was built in large part on ties created through kinship (Albers and Kay 1987).

Through common descent, intermarriage, and adoption, people of different tribes were joined together in complex and ramifying networks of kinship. In 1862, Ferdinand Hayden (1862a:277) wrote about the close connections between the Cheyennes and Lakotas as follows:

> The Shyennes are a proud race, large and well-formed, more like the Dakotas than any tribe I am acquainted with on the Missouri. They are at peace with the Dakotas, and have become so intermarried now, that it is hardly probable that they will ever break their friendly relations. So many of them speak the Dakota language, that their own language is not used at the present time in diplomatic affairs.

The creation of a kinship tie established a reciprocal bond between the parties; it created obligations and responsibilities to share and care for each other's welfare (Mirsky 1937; Goldfrank 1943; Deloria, E. 1944; Lee 1959:59-69). It enabled people to make claims on the living areas, support systems, and legacies of the people with whom they established a tie. As a result, it allowed them to move across the wide tracts of geographic space they shared in common (Walker 1982:16-17; Albers and Kay 1987; Albers 1993:112-122). Such sharing was contingent, of course, on the parties standing together in a spirit of cooperation and peace.[1]

Conflict and competition, however, also marked the ways in which the tribal nations of the plains arranged themselves across geographic space. The absence of kinship ties or their erosion could and often did lead to hostilities, divisions, and even war (Albers 1993:122-128). Territorial and social boundaries were erected when large segments of tribes became engulfed in conflict. Gaining or defending territorial access was managed through the use of force. In situations where people of different tribal origins fought together against common enemies, they shared equal claims to the lands they mutually defended or conquered. This sentiment is clearly apparent in the words of tribal leaders, who spoke at the Fort Laramie Treaty Conference in 1851. Black Hawk of the Lakotas said:

> Father, if there is anything I do know, it is the country for I was raised in it, with the interpreters and traders. You have split the country, and I don't like it. What we live upon, we hunt for, and we hunt from the Platte to the Arkansas, and from here up to the Red Bute (sic) and the Sweet Water...These lands once belonged to the Kiowa and the Crows, but we whipped these nations out of them, and in this we did what the white men do when they want the lands of the Indians. We met the Kiowas and the Crows and whipped them , at the Kiowa Creek, just below where we now are. We met them and whipped them again, and the last time at Crow Creek. This last battle was fought by Cheyennes, Arrapahoes and Ogllahlahs combined, and the Ogllahlahs claim their share of the country (*quoted from* the Fort Laramie Treaty Journal, September 18, 1851 in Indian Claims Commission, Horr 1974:55-56).

What is significant about this quote is the recognition that the land areas being discussed were shared by the three tribal nations who had jointly fought to wrestle them from their former owners, the Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Comanches, and Crows. As noted earlier, tribal nations did

[1] In aftermath of U.S. military hostilities at Ash Hollow, Agent John W. Whitfield was called to Fort Laramie to hold council with the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos to bring about a peace. Whitfield's report of this council meeting reveals that one of the Cheyenne leaders set forth four terms for the possible conclusion of a peace which included a request that one thousand white women be sent to them as wives (Powell 1981:1:183). Although Whitfield did not reveal his reactions to this request, it probably seemed preposterous from an American perspective. Yet, it was perfectly sensible from a tribal point of view where marriages solidified relations between peoples, opening avenues for peace, trade, and the shared use of a territory.

not distribute themselves across this region of the plains as discrete ethnic blocs with clear-cut territorial boundaries. Instead, they formed complex alliances where peoples of different tribal origin held vast tracts of territory in common. The groups who jointly acquired and defended them also held rights to their shared occupancy and use (Albers and Kay 1987:80-82).

It cannot be emphasized enough that contrary to popular opinion, as evidenced in some of Edward Lazarus's (1991:18) remarks on the subject, tribal occupancy of the Black Hills was not gained solely by aggression. When the Cheyennes first arrived in the region, they entered it peaceably by establishing strategic trade alliances with some of the Hills' occupants, notably the Arapahos, Kiowas, and Plains Apaches. Although the Cheyennes fought bitterly with the Crows, as they gradually pushed their settlements towards the Black Hills, they intermarried, collaborated, and coexisted with the other tribal nations who lived in the region. The Lakotas' entry into the Black Hills followed a similar path. Although they warred with the Kiowas and Crows, and for a short period of time battled with some of the Cheyennes, the Lakotas overall movement into and settlement of the Black Hills took place over many generations under conditions of intermarriage and peaceful coexistence with their close Arapaho and Cheyenne friends.

The settlement patterns and alliance formations that brought people of the same or different tribal nations together were organized in a number of different ways. The tribal nations whose subsistence was focused on hunting and the procural of wild plant foods were organized into bands, numbering between fifty to two hundred people. The bands were typically comprised of closely related families who lived and traveled together over a common territorial range. Among the Lakotas, this level is often identified by the expression *tiospaye*, which refers simultaneously to an extended family and to the residential camps families gathered in throughout much of the year (Deloria, E. 1944). In Cheyenne, the expression *manhao* refers to a "bunch," implying a group of closely related people who gather together (Moore, J. 1987:179-180, 266-267).

Among the tribal nations who lived year-round in the vicinity of the Black Hills, bands functioned as semiautonomous entities. They formed the core settlement groups associated with the winter camps people generally occupied from November to April. At certain times, however, these groups broke up into smaller family or task-based groups to conduct any of a variety of specialized activities (Walker 1982:16-17, 28; Hassrick 1964:156-157, 164-165; Moore, J. 1996:68-69). In the spring and early summer, families often dispersed into smaller groupings for brief periods to procure their lodgepoles and to gather plants for food and medicinal purposes. Later in the summer and early fall, however, the different bands gathered together in larger encampments for communal hunts, trade, political negotiation, and ceremonial observance. In the case of the Lakotas and the Cheyennes, these encampments rarely, if ever, took in every member of the entire tribe -- that is, all the people who identified themselves either as Lakota or Cheyenne. Instead, they tended to be organized along mid-level divisional lines with, for example, bands of Oglalas coming together to hunt buffalo or hold a Sun Dance. Sometimes bands from other divisions, or even tribes, joined a particular encampment. In the largest of these encampments, such as the ones that took place for trade and political negotiation at the base of Bear Butte, "tribes" occupied separate camp circles (Moore, J. 1987:27-51).

The membership of a band or a larger multi-band camp circle was highly flexible, however. Families commonly shifted their band or camp circle allegiances on a circumstantial basis. A band or camp circle grew in size as people were attracted to its location and leadership, but it could also dwindle when members left its ranks over disputes, insufficient resources, or better opportunities elsewhere. The movement of people between bands and camp circles was facilitated through ramifying networks of kinship, which were created through band exogamy and the bilateral generational systems of kin reckoning so common in the area (Eggan 1966:45-77). It

was these kin ties as much as tribal or band identities that determined where and with whom people lived. As a consequence, it was not uncommon to find bands dominated by Cheyennes with Lakotas in their ranks and vice versa. Indeed, tribally mixed bands were a common feature of the plains landscape in historic times (Walker 1982:30, 61, Albers and Kay 1987; Moore, J. 1987:117-121; Albers 1996).

The bands that occupied contiguous territories were the ones who typically came together in larger encampments over the summer months for buffalo hunting and Sun Dances. These bands sometimes shared the same tribal affiliations, but there were many instances when bands of more than one tribal origin, the Cheyennes and Arapahos or the Oglalas, Sicangus, and Minneconjous, for example, gathered together for these purposes (Hyde 1961:57, 106; Powell 1981:1:248-249). Indeed, tribally exclusive encampments appear to have been the exception rather than the rule after the mid-nineteenth century (Albers 1993:112-122; 1996). In the case of the Cheyenne Dog Soldier bands and the Sicangu Lakotas, who frequently traveled and lived together, each tribe formed their own camp circle at contiguous locations, and each ran separate Sun Dances that were jointly attended on consecutive days (Powell 1981:1:249). These encampments were generally organized under the supervision or leadership of the tribe who sponsored them with bands of other tribal affiliations standing in a guest relationship to the hosts. As described by James Walker (1982:22-23):

> In aboriginal times a Lakota camp was an assemblage of tipis belonging to a number of families who made a council fire as a symbol of their autonomy. In the winter camp or a formal camp the tipis were placed in a circular form known as the camp circle. A short space was unoccupied towards the rising sun and this was known as the entrance. The space enclosed by the camp circle was the camp middle or arena. The ends of the camp circle next to the entrance were known as the horns, and the place in the circle opposite the entrance was the chief place. A tipi was placed on the area near the chief place, with its door towards the entrance, and this was the council lodge. It was the public lodge of the camp, where all communal gatherings were held, and all business of common interest to the camp was transacted. If business of importance was to be done, a fire was made on the fireplace of the council lodge, and this was known as the council fire. Business transacted about the council fire was of the nature of legislation and was binding upon all members of the camp. A temporary camp was made without formality, tipis being placed according to the convenience of their occupants.

There were also larger gatherings where bands from distant locations congregated for purposes of trade, political negotiation, and religious observance. These encampments might contain many thousands of people of diverse tribal origin who came together temporarily for a specific purpose. Bear Butte at the north end of the Hills and Horse Creek south of the Hills were two places where these large gatherings commonly took place (see Chapters Three to Five). Information on how supervision was managed and power shared by the participating tribes is hard to find. The gatherings were probably organized through a process of consensus and shared responsibility among participating tribes, with soldier societies from each tribe appointed to keep order in the camps.

The populations who practiced intensive forms of horticulture followed a kinship system based on lineage and age-grade principles (Eggan 1966:45-77; Holder 1970; Eggan and Maxwell 2001:975-977). Although their kinship systems appear to have created more stable, fixed, and well bounded social groupings, they still formed strong symbiotic ties with their neighbors in which marriage and fictive kinship created alliances that facilitated trade and joint territorial access (Albers 1993:100-112). Most of the populations who practiced horticulture maintained large concentrated, semisedentary settlements along the bottomlands of the Missouri River and some of its larger tributaries, such as the Niobrara and Cheyenne, where they grew their crops of

corn, squash, and beans over the summer months. Many of these villages became trade entrepots, in which many different tribes gathered to exchange goods in the spring and fall. During much of the eighteenth century, they were central locations in the vast intercontinental trade chains that connected the horse- and gun-supplying tribes (Ewers 1954; Wood 1973; Albers 1993).

Although these tribes were generally less mobile than their neighbors who lived in the high plains regions farther west, they abandoned their villages to conduct communal bison hunts on the open plains in the early summer after their crops were planted and before or after the harvesting season in the fall. In the late fall and over the winter months, the large villages broke up into smaller groups who set up another set of semi-permanent villages upstream along various western tributaries of the Missouri River. From these settlements smaller task-based groups, usually composed of men, traveled great distances for specialized hunting and procural activity (Lehmer 2001).

B. Productive Orientations

The particular ways Native peoples carved out a relationship to the Black Hills displayed considerable variability not only over time but also from one population to another. In reference to the Late Prehistoric period, Linea Sundstrom (1989:73) summarizes three of these orientations as follows:

> The picture suggested by research done in the area to date does not fit easily into any of the cultural sequences proposed for surrounding areas. The bison hunting dominated subsistence pattern of the open high plains, the mixed hunting-and-foraging pattern of the Wyoming basins, and the semihorticultural, semisedentary village pattern of the Missouri and Central Plains all may be represented in the Black Hills.

Except for the mixed hunting-and-foraging pattern, all of these orientations persisted in the region until the historic era. After the arrival of horses in the eighteenth century, aspects of the semi-horticultural and the bison-hunting patterns were modified to accommodate the presence of this new animal. In many instances, the presence of the horse simply supplemented or enhanced preexisting productive arrangements, but in some cases, it brought about a very different orientation where the procural and raising of horses became the focus of production rather than a means to enhance other forms of production. In addition to the arrival of horses, the introduction of mercantile commerce by Europeans and later Americans also considerably altered the productive strategies of the tribal nations who lived around the Black Hills.

The place of the Black Hills in the size and scope of the territorial ranges that tribal populations covered in their annual productive pursuits varied considerably during the historic era. On the one hand the distances people traveled in and around the Black Hills differentiated these ranges, and this can be conceptualized along a continuum. On one end of the continuum was a localized pattern, where a people's territorial range was largely restricted to the Black Hills and their immediate environs (extending not much farther than the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River). On the other end was a long-distance pattern where people covered ranges that took in several hundred miles of territory. Here, the Black Hills were used by groups who traveled great distances on a regular and recurring basis to reach them from winter or summer settlement locations on the Missouri and Platte rivers. In the middle of this continuum was a proximate pattern that covered smaller but still sizable tracts of territory. Groups either wintered in the vicinity of the Black Hills and traveled towards the headwaters of the White, Niobrara, and Powder rivers to hunt bison in the summer, or they wintered along the lower reaches of these and

other nearby rivers and hunted at the base of the Hills and entered their interiors for specialized procurement tasks in the late spring and during other seasons as well.

The territorial relationships of local tribal nations to the Black Hills can also be differentiated by the extent of their use. Following Leigh Syms' work (1977) on this subject, territorial ranges can be divided into primary, secondary, or tertiary procurement areas. A primary range is the area in which a population conducts their central productive activities on a regular and recurring basis. It includes the preferred and predominant locations for settlement and subsistence. Secondary ranges are used more selectively for specialized but recurring activities or alternatively, as a "safety net" when resources temporarily fail in a primary procurement area. Finally, tertiary ranges include areas which groups enter only occasionally for irregular and limited procurement purposes but sometimes as a prelude to a more intensive cycle of use.

When temporal dimensions are added, an incredibly complex picture emerges in relation to the productive orientations and spatial movements of local tribes. This is true not only from the perspective of the use and occupation of the Black Hills as a particular geographic area, but also from the vantage point of the histories of the various tribes who were known to live in the Hills. In the historic era, considerable change took place in the productive orientations of tribes, in the locations and distances they covered when carrying out their productive activities, and in the spans of time they utilized specific areas. There was also variation within single tribal nations with respect to the productive uses their constituent groups made of the Black Hills at any given moment in time. Indeed, it is difficult to generalize some of this complexity without doing serious injustice to the distinctive features of local group adaptations, especially among populations as large and geographically dispersed as the Lakotas. But even among smaller populations, such as the Cheyennes, the variation was not inconsiderable.

1. Broad Spectrum Foraging Orientations

One kind of productive orientation represented in the Black Hills reaches back to prehistoric times. It was localized and involved a reliance on a broad spectrum of faunal and floral food resources (Sundstrom, L.1989:66-68, 99-100, 107). In the Middle Archaic period, as described in Chapter Two, some of the populations who adopted this strategy lived in the interiors of the Black Hills and followed a pattern of transhumance movement, moving from habitats in the higher elevation central Hills in the summer months to the Hogback and Race Track areas of the southern Hills over the winter (Tratebas 1986:138; Sundstrom, L. 1989:107; Alex, L. 1991:51-53). These groups were especially dependent on the plentiful stocks of bighorn and deer in the region (Sundstrom, L. 1989:100). Other groups, however, traveled between their summer locations on the surrounding grasslands, where pronghorn and bison abounded, to winter campsites inside the Hogback (Tratebas 1986; Sundstrom, L. 1989). The territorial range of these populations appears to have been localized, with the Black Hills as the primary area for their procurement activity. Both of these locally based, broad-spectrum orientations largely disappeared by the end of the Late Archaic period. With their disappearance, data for a permanent year-round occupation of the Hills' interiors by single populations also declines. There is some archaeological evidence, however,that certain features of these patterns persisted in later time periods, albeit in a much diminished form. Most of the data suggest that the interiors continued to be used on a recurring and seasonal basis by task-based groups from populations that followed other adaptive orientations and lived on the fringes of the Hills or even at locations as far away as the Missouri River (Sundstrom, L. 1989:99). This more specialized and seasonally based use of the Hills' interiors persisted even after 1877, when local tribes were settled on reservations outside the Hills.

2. Semihorticultural Orientations

Another orientation was associated with the practice of horticulture and semisedentary village settlement in the valleys of the Missouri River and its larger tributaries, including the Niobrara, White, Cheyenne, and Little Missouri. Despite local variations, there were certain general attributes of this pattern that were commonly shared by the tribal nations who practiced it. The main feature was its focus on the cultivation of corn and other cultigens, including beans, squash, and tobacco. Hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild plant foods supplemented local diets, but the defining focus of productive activity was horticulture. In the historic period, the tribal nations who practiced horticulture appear to have done so in two different ways.

One kind of horticultural adaptation was associated with fairly intensive forms of cultivation in which fields were placed along the bottomlands of some of the region's larger waterways. Considerable amounts of labor (mostly female) were invested in growing crops, and a certain degree of sedentism was necessary to produce stable yields and a large surplus for subsistence and trade with neighboring non-horticultural populations (Wilson 1917; Will and Hyde 1964; Lehmer 2001). Much of this horticulture took place along the Missouri River and the lower reaches of its larger tributaries, although there is some evidence, extending back to prehistoric times, that certain populations attempted to establish this kind of horticulture along some of the higher elevation watercourses near the Black Hills, including the Cheyenne, White, Niobrara, and Little Missouri rivers (Alex, R. 1981:42-43; Sundstrom, L. 1989:99-100; Schlesier 1994:342; Wood 2001:192-193). The Arikaras, Hidatsas, Mandans, and Poncas practiced this type of horticulture throughout the historic era, and it also marked the Cheyennes' productive orientation in protohistoric times (1965a:39, 50; Brown and Irwin 2001:418; Lehmer 2001:245-255; Parks 2001a:369-370; Stewart 2001:332; Wood and Irwin 2001:355). Some of the Lakotas, including the Minneconjous and the Oglalas as well as the Yankton Dakotas, apparently made attempts to practice this form of production too but for very brief periods of time (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:350-351; Howard, J. 1980:11).

Fairly typical of the populations who practiced this pattern of horticulture were annual communal bison hunts. The hunts generally took place twice a year, in the fall and the early summer, at locations a considerable distance from the villages where the fields were planted and maintained (Wedel and Frison 2001:60). During the time of the hunts, entire villages were abandoned as their residents took up settlements in proximity to their hunting grounds. The Arikaras, for example, left their villages for periods of a month or more in the early summer after their crops were planted and then again in the late fall or early winter after the harvesting season was over (Parks 2001a:370).

Besides the semi-annual bison hunts, other kinds of procurement activity took place at sites away from the villages. These commonly involved smaller task-based parties who set out for varying lengths of time to secure particular animal, plant, or mineral resources on a recurring or opportunistic basis (Tabeau in Abel 1939:70; Bowers 1950:10, 1963:48, 50; 1965a:41; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-348; Moulton 1983-87:3:234). The eagle-trapping expeditions of the historic Hidatsas and Mandans were of this order (Bowers 1950:206-254; 1963:238, 259; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). It was also common for some of these populations to establish winter villages away from their large summer settlements on the Missouri. The Mandan, for example, chose locations fairly close to their villages in densely wooded river bottoms, where fuel was abundant for their fires, where fodder was available for their horses, and where buffalo often found shelter as well (Stewart 2001:332-333). One account (Odell 1942:34), however, indicates that in the winter of 1844-1845 some of them wintered as far south as Bear Butte. Earlier, in the eighteenth century, the Arikaras apparently built some of their winter villages at

some distance from the Missouri, even as far west as the forks of the Cheyenne River (Parks 200a1:967-968), and so did the Hidatsas as far south as the upper reaches of the Little Missouri River (Lehmer 2001:248).

Another kind of horticultural adaptation was more casual and opportunistic in nature. It was practiced by tribes who depended more heavily on bison hunting and who lived in a wider range of environments, including some of the higher elevation river valleys near the base of the Black Hills. In the casual forms of horticulture, once crops were planted, the fields were typically abandoned until the harvesting season in the fall. Only marginal effort was given to maintaining the fields as the crops matured. As might be expected, this type of horticulture was associated with low and erratic yields. It functioned as a supplemental subsistence activity rather than a core adaptive strategy by populations whose patterns of residence tended to be more nomadic. For a variety of reasons, the practice of horticulture at these locations appears to have been casual and not sustained or intensive enough to produce yields sufficient for reliable subsistence and trade. In the protohistoric era, this kind of horticulture was associated with some of the Dismal River sites, often linked to the Padouca Apaches and found in regions immediately to the east and south of the Black Hills (Wedel 1959; Gunnerson 1960, 2001). It was also practiced by some of the Poncas, who tried to establish year-round settlements near the Black Hills in the early eighteenth century, and it was certainly followed by the Cheyennes from the late eighteenth century to the reservation era (Grinnell 1972:1:251-254; Moore, J. 1987:69-73, 140-141). There is some suggestive evidence that some of the Lakotas attempted it too (Hinman 1874:93; Robinson 1928: 493; Standing Bear 1978:58). The populations who practiced horticulture appear to have had two distinct but related territorial relationships to the Black Hills, and some of these undoubtedly included the southern Hills where Wind Cave National Park is now situated.

a. Long-Distance Connections

This involved the long-distance territorial connections of village populations whose principal settlements were situated along the Missouri River and whose buffalo hunting grounds were typically located upriver along tributary streams in proximity to their villages. This pattern has been documented for the eighteenth century Poncas who followed the Niobrara, the White, and even the Cheyenne River to hunting grounds east and south of the Hills (1965a:20-21, 39, 50, 130-133; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416, 419). The Arikaras were also known to follow the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers to buffalo ranges at the base of the Black Hills in early historic times (Tabeau in Abel 1939:70; Smith, H.1980:111-113; Parks 2001a:967-968). When the Cheyennes and some of the Lakotas practiced horticulture and took up residence at locations along the Missouri in later decades, they followed these rivers to hunting grounds near the Black Hills as well (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:310-311; Bent in Hyde 1968:16; Clow 1995). The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Crows traveled up the Little Missouri River to buffalo hunting grounds at the northern edge of the Hills, and there is plenty of ceramic evidence to support their presence in this area during the protohistoric period. They also traveled this route to trap eagles and hunt elk and bighorn in or near the Black Hills (Bowers 1950:10, 206-254, 1963:48, 50, 238, 259; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966:2:346-347; Moulton 1983-87:3:234; Lehmer 2001:248; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). Judging by the large and culturally varied collections of prehistoric ceramic material now found in or near the Black Hills, this was an old and long-standing economic orientation in the area (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65, 70, 99-100).

When horticultural tribes traveled towards the Black Hills in the early summer and late fall, they usually spent an extended period of time in the region. While they were present, they undoubtedly took the opportunity to pursue other activities. Some probably entered the interiors of the Hills to carry out other kinds of hunts, to collect various plant and mineral resources, and to

conduct religious observances. Even after the larger body of the population returned to the villages to harvest their crops, smaller parties likely remained or came back to the Hills for specialized tasks such as elk and bear hunting or eagle trapping, which typically took place in the early spring or late fall (Rosen 1895:54; Bowers 1950:206-254, 1963:238, 259; 1965a:41; Wood and Irwin 2001:356). The fall was also a season when some of the villagers met other tribes at locations near the Black Hills to barter their surplus corn and items of European manufacture for horses, hides, furs, and meat (Tabeau in Abel 1939:104,132, 151-153; Bowers 1963: 48-50). Bear Butte, already described in previous chapters, was a well-known location for gatherings the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Arikaras regularly attended in the late eighteenth century, but other locations were probably selected as well, including French Creek and Horse Creek (Wood 1973; see, Chapter Three).

While the Black Hills unquestionably represented a primary territorial range for some of the village tribes who wintered and planted along the Missouri River, they were secondary and tertiary ranges too. Whether or not the Hills were the preferred and predominant place for horticultural tribes to hunt fluctuated over time and in response to a variety of different influences. For example, while the Black Hills were clearly a primary range for the Poncas in the early eighteenth century, warfare with Apaches and Kiowas, and later Lakotas, forced them to move their hunting ranges farther south at some distance from the Black Hills. By the 1820s, however, there is evidence that on some occasions they hunted alternative areas along the White River but usually in the company of the Sicangus and Oglalas, who had become the principal inhabitants of this waterway (Howard, J. 1965a:28-29, 130-133). The headwaters of the White River includes areas within easy reach of the southern Black Hills where Wind Cave is located, and the Poncas are one of the few tribes whose name for it has been recorded in the published literature (Ibid:20, 76).

This was also the case for the Arikaras, who in time lost their primacy over the buffalo ranges in the vicinity of the Black Hills. Before 1781, when smallpox dramatically reduced their numbers, they were probably the primary population who used the buffalo ranges at the headwaters of the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers, all of which are in striking distance of the Wind Cave National Park area. In later decades, they appear to have continued this practice, but now these areas were dominated by the Cheyennes and later the Lakotas. As long as the Arikaras maintained good relationships with these tribes, they also retained some degree of access for hunting and other procurement tasks. In later years, as hostilities escalated with their neighbors, the Arikaras spent a greater portion of their year in the vicinity of their villages (Parks 2001a: 371). By the 1850s, the Hills region was considered enemy territory and entered only occasionally and with well-armed parties (Parks 2001a:379). Like the Hidatsas and Mandans, among whom they now lived, the Hills became the destination for specialized hunting parties in search of elk, bighorn, and eagles. The primary bison hunting ranges for these horticultural populations became concentrated along the Little Missouri River in areas far to the north of the Black Hills. In contrast to the Arikaras, who probably once hunted in the vicinity of the Buffalo Gap in the southeastern Black Hills, Mandan and Hidatsa hunting parties appear to have confined their procurement activities to the Hills' northern reaches. There is no evidence that they ever hunted in the southeastern Black Hills in historic times, although there are highly speculative theories for the prehistoric presence of populations ancestral to the historic Mandan (Schlesier 1994:342; Wood 2001:192-193).

When the Cheyennes established their horticultural villages near the Mandans and Hidatsas in the mid-eighteenth century, they followed the practice of taking their early summer and fall buffalo hunts to the Black Hills. Eventually, they carved out a place for themselves in regions between the Little Missouri and Cheyenne rivers (Bent in Hyde 1968:16). By the end of the eigh-

teenth century, the Cheyennes had removed most of their villages from the Missouri and established their principal settlements near the forks of the Cheyenne River where they are reported to have maintained their fields of corn until the early nineteenth century (Moore, J. 1987:68-70). When this happened, their relationship to the Black Hills shifted from a long-distance to a proximate one.

b. Proximate Connections

These connections, which are also quite old archaeologically, involved populations who attempted to practice horticulture along the high elevation waterways near the base of the Black Hills. Before the Little Ice Age, when the climate of the plains region was much warmer, horticultural settlements were established in a wide range of locations where cultivation is now difficult to sustain. There is considerable evidence that in the Late Archaic and Prehistoric periods the upper reaches of the Cheyenne, Little Missouri, Platte, White, and Niobrara rivers supported a variety of horticultural settlements possibly ancestral to peoples such as the Arikaras, Mandans, Hidatsas, and Poncas (Sundstrom, L. 1989:65; Wood 2001:192-193).

In the protohistoric era, the Poncas were known to have established satellite horticultural communities within easy reach of the Black Hills (1965a:20-21, 130-133; Jablow 1974:92-93; Brown and Irwin 2001:416). Most of the ones associated with more intensive forms of horticulture appear to have been short-lived, however. Where horticulture was practiced on a sustained and long-term basis, as among the Padouca Apaches and later, the Cheyennes, it involved a casual pattern (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254; Moore, J. 1987:68-70; 140-143; Gunnerson 2001:470-471).

The best documented and most detailed description of the casual pattern comes from ethnographic and ethnohistoric material on the Cheyennes, who planted in the vicinity of the Black Hills as late as 1865 (Grinnell 1972:1:252-254; Moore, J. 1987:68-70, 140-143). The precise locations for this cultivation are difficult to trace in the historic record, although Thomas Odell (1942:13-14), in interviews with Cheyennes living on the Pine Ridge Reservation, was told that Bear Butte Creek was one of the locations where they planted in the mid-nineteenth century. He also records Rapid Creek as a location where the Suhtaios once planted (Ibid:151). In the late eighteenth century, Cherry Creek and other higher elevation locations near the forks of the Cheyenne River were reported as Cheyenne farming sites, but some of these may have been associated with more intensive forms of horticulture (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379; Moore, J. 1987:71). Nineteenth century sites along the Little Missouri and the Platte rivers involved casual forms of horticulture too (Grinnell 1972:1:253). These locations are still some distance from the Black Hills proper, but they were considerably closer than their horticultural settlements along the Missouri where some Cheyenne apparently farmed until 1833 (Grinnell 1972:2:33). The advantage of these higher elevation locations was their easy access to the rich buffalo hunting grounds and timber resources in the vicinity of the Black Hills (Moore, J. 1987:147-148).

At the end of the nineteenth century, many elderly Cheyenne recalled planting crops in the shadow of the Black Hills. Some even reported doing so until the mid-1860s (Grinnell 1972:1: 252-254; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:5). Given the reported locations of the Cheyenne in the early nineteenth century, it is probable that much of this planting took place along the north and south branches of the Cheyenne River. It is also possible that the Cheyennes planted along streams inside the Hogback. John Moore (1987:69-72) explains in some detail why the Black Hills were able to support casual and opportunistic forms of horticulture. Not only do the Black Hills receive more rainfall than the surrounding plains, but they also have more frost-free days (Moore, J. 1987:70-71). Indeed, when European American settlers came to the area,

many planted "kitchen gardens," a casual form of horticulture in and around the Black Hills, including locations in Custer and Fall River counties and inside the boundaries of Wind Cave National Park (Tallent 1899:414, 673; Lindsey 1932 in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-1970:899-900; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Williams 1973:3, 6; McAdam 1973:8; Smith, A. 1973: 25, 30, 35; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:189, 309, 364, 1994:49, 75).

The Lakotas were also known to plant along the Cheyenne River and other Missouri tributaries at the base of the Hills (Hinman 1874:93; Standing Bear 1978:58). In 1876, in response to Commissioner Bullis' claim that the region was worthless to the Lakotas for agriculture, Long Mandan asked some of his associates to get the large pumpkin that had been grown along these waters. According to Doane Robinson (1928:493), the pumpkin was so huge it required the "united strength" of two men to bring it to the commission meetings.

By the early nineteenth century, most of the Cheyennes appear to have abandoned both their intensive and casual forms of horticulture (Grinnell 1972:1:172). Many hypotheses have been advanced as to why most of the Cheyennes, and even some of the Lakotas, gave up farming as they moved away from the Missouri towards the Black Hills. One of these relates to the uncertainties of the climate in this area of the plains, and another has to do with the competing demands imposed by horticulture versus pastoralism or bison hunting as primary adaptive strategies. But Luther Standing Bear (1978:58) suggested another explanation when he wrote:

> Corn had come to us in a beautiful legend, but we did not grow very much of it. On the Plains it would have been taken by the buffalo, so it was planted only in little spaces close to a stream where the ground was moist and rich. It was left uncultivated to grow by itself while the camp moved on, and when the camp came back the corn was gathered.

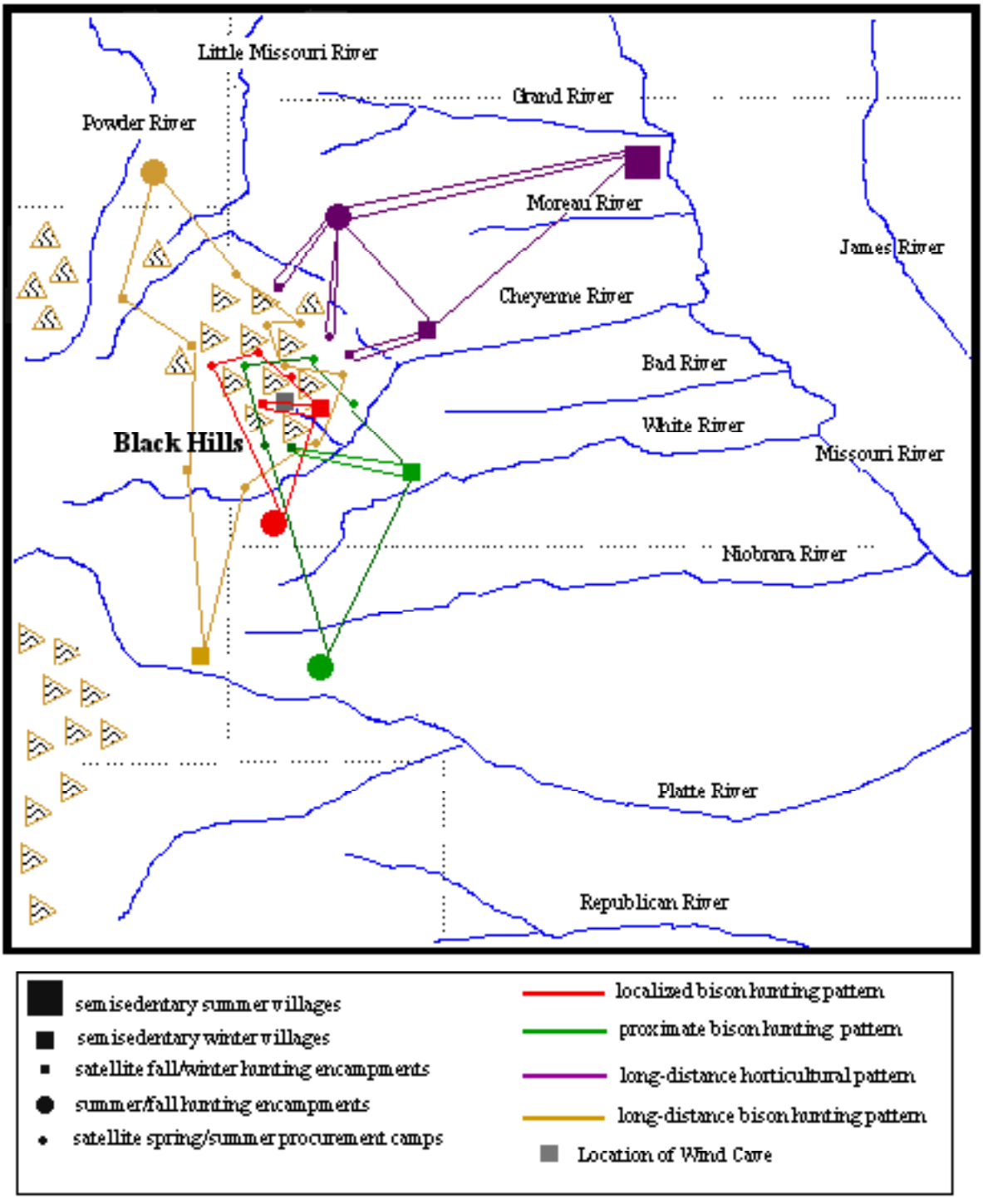
The incompatibility of growing corn in the same areas where the buffalo roamed is also suggested in the popular story of the struggle between the corn wife and the buffalo wife in local tribal traditions. Iron Teeth, a Cheyenne woman, offered another explanation to Thomas Marquis (and Limbaugh 1973:5):

> We planted corn every year when I was a little girl in the Black Hills. With sharpened sticks we punched holes in the ground, dropped in grains of corn, then went hunting all summer. When the grass died we returned and gathered the crop. But the Pawnees and Arikaras got to stealing or destroying our growing food, so we had to quit the plantings. We got into the way then of following all the time after the buffalo and other game herds.

This is an excellent description of the casual pattern of horticulture described earlier, but it also confirms that it was predation, in this case by humans, rather than natural forces that led to the abandonment of farming. In time, the vast majority of Cheyennes and Lakotas chose hunting over horticulture except as a casual pursuit, and even those who may have continued to pursue it appear to have done so in opportunistic ways.

No matter where the Cheyennes established their settlements and gardens, they had easy access to the good bison and pronghorn hunting grounds on the grasslands surrounding the Hills and also to the elk, deer, and bighorn in their interiors. They were also within easy reach of timber resources in the region's many sheltered valleys (Moore, J. 1987:164). As Iron Teeth (in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:5) reveals, groups planted their crops in the spring near their winter villages and abandoned these sites in midsummer to search out bison on the surrounding grasslands, returning to them in the fall to cultivate their crops.

FIGURE 19. Schematic Representation of Transhumance Movements



Another population, the Padouca Apaches, also practiced a casual form of horticulture. Archeologically, these Apaches are associated with the sites of the Dismal River Phase, which have been discovered at locations from southern Kansas to the Black Hills. Although their subsistence revolved primarily around buffalo hunting and the gathering of wild plant foods, they planted corn and squash in the fertile bottomlands of small tributaries off the Cheyenne, Bad, White, and Niobrara rivers. These locations were the sites where they built their semi-permanent villages. Dismal River sites are associated with distinctive baking pits, metates, and pottery styles (Gunnerson 2001:240-241). Historic descriptions of their subsistence practices indicate that Padouca Apaches did not typically organize large-scale summer buffalo hunts as many of the other tribes in the region did. Rather, they appear to have followed a broad-spectrum subsistence pattern where a wide variety of wild plants and game were taken (Foster and McCullough 2001:928-929). The Dismal River sites, located where the Angostura Reservoir now stands, were in easy reach of the Wind Cave region, and there is no question that this area would have been used as a primary staging ground for the procurement of fauna and flora for food, medicinal, and manufacturing purposes when the Padouca Apaches occupied the area until the late eighteenth century. Indeed, Waldo Wedel and George Frison (2001:49) note the presence of lithic materials from nearby Battle Mountain at Dismal River sites now inundated by the reservoir.

3. The Bison Hunting Orientations

The most prevalent, persistent, and specialized adaptive pattern associated with the Black Hills was built around the hunting of bison (Sundstrom, L. 1989:66-69, 94-98). Even after the arrival of the horse in the early eighteenth century, bison hunting remained the defining adaptive strategy of the populations who lived and wintered near the Hills. Throughout the protohistoric and historic era, many different tribal nations followed procurement strategies where bison hunting was their primary productive pursuit. The Arapahos, Comanches, Crows, Kiowas, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Lakotas were the ones who occupied areas in the vicinity of the Black Hills. In historic times, these populations appear to have followed three (and possibly as many as five) different adaptive patterns in which bison hunting played a central role in their economies. In one pattern already discussed, bison hunting supplemented various levels of horticultural activity. In another pattern, bison hunting was the major focus of procurement, even though it was supplemented in varying ways and degrees with other kinds of game and wild plant foods. This pattern emphasized bison hunting for subsistence, and it appears to have persisted among some bands until the reservation era (Wedel and Frison 2001:56). In a third pattern, a highly specialized adaptive strategy was pursued that depended on the procurement of bison, not only for subsistence but also for trade. During the heyday of the commercial bison robe market in the Plains, circa 1820 to 1860, some Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands became major producers for this trade, concentrating their efforts on bison hunting to the exclusion of other productive pursuits (Mekeel 1943:168-173; Swagerty 1988:73; Kardullas 1990:35; Klein 1993:133-160; Pickering 1994:61; Moore, J. 1996b:122-143). Increasingly, their movements and livelihoods were synchronized to the locations of the best herds, and when the bison declined in one region, they moved onto richer ranges. In reference to the Lakotas, Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:154) reported a dual pattern of adaptation:

> The western Dakota have no fixed habitations. Hunting and fighting, they wander incessantly, through summer and winter. Some follow the herds of buffalo over the waste of prairie; others traverse the Black Hills, thronging on horseback and on foot, through the dark gulfs and somber gorges, and emerging at last upon the "Parks," those beautiful but most perilous hunting grounds.

Again, it is difficult to know which "Black Hills" Parkman is naming because the ascription was used simultaneously for the Laramie Mountains and the Black Hills proper. Some historians (Wade in Parkaman 1947, Feltskog in Parkman 1969) believe, depending on the context, that some of his references to the Lakotas actually refer to their travels in the Laramie Range. Whatever the case, it is an important statement because it suggests that the Lakotas were differentiated not simply by the locations they traveled but also by the kinds of adaptive patterns they emphasized and pursued.

Whether bison-hunting populations followed a more variegated and subsistence-oriented adaptation or a more specialized and market-oriented one, it was common for them to situate their territorial ranges in proximity to well-watered and timbered hills and mountain ranges. It is also clear that that these mountain zones were heavily utilized. As Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:271-272) also wrote:

> Wild as they were, these mountains were thickly peopled. As I climbed farther, I found the broad, dusty paths made by elk, as they filed across the mountainside. The grass on all the terraces was trampled down by deer; there were numerous tracks of wolves, and in some of the rougher and more precipitous parts of the ascent I found footprints different from any that I had ever seen, and which I took to be those of the Rocky Mountain sheep.
>
> Such are the Black Hills, as I found them in July; but they wear a different garb when winter sets in, when the broad boughs of the fir-trees are bent to the ground by the load of snow, and the dark mountains are white with it. At that season the trappers, returned from their autumn expeditions, often build their cabins in the midst of these solitudes, and live in abundance and luxury on the game that harbors there. I have heard them tell how...they had spent months in total seclusion. They would dig pitfalls, and set traps for the white wolves, sables, and martens, and through the whole night the awful chorus of the wolves would resound from the frozen mountains around them, yet within their massive walls of logs they would lie in careless ease before the blazing fire, and in the morning shoot the elk and deer from their very door.

The impression one gets from Parkman here and elsewhere in his journal (in Feltskog 1969:261-262, 270, 272-273, 277, 290-291, 297-298, 312) is the interiors of mountain areas around Fort Laramie, including the Laramie Range and the Black Hills proper, were rich with game, especially deer and elk, and were inhabited throughout much of the year, although in winter it was mostly by solitary "French Indian" trappers who traveled alone or with their Indian families and companions.

In 1854, the trader Edwin Denig (in Ewers 1961:6) described the importance of the Black Hills to the Lakotas when he wrote:

> The Black Hills are the most eastern spurs of the Rocky Mountain range, several thousand feet high, well covered with timber, of which pine is the principal. The Hills or Mountains thus called commence near the head of Powder River running nearly a northeastern direction to within about 50 miles of the White River, the intermediate space to that stream being occupied by the Bad Lands. The Sioux seldom camp for any length of time in the Black Hills. But little game is found there and it consists of panthers, bears, and bighorn which are difficult to find and kill. Not much grass is found on the sides of the mountains, at least not enough to support the horses of a large camp for any length of time. They frequently visit the place, however, in search of lodgepoles which they make from the tall, straight young pines. At these times the camps are usually placed at the base of the mountains where grass is plenty, and when buffalo are not to be seen, they subsist on elk, blacktail deer and bighorn sheep.

One of the reports (Edmunds, Curtis, Guerney, and Reed 1866:168) of the Northwestern Treaty Commission to the Sioux of the Upper Missouri gave additional details on this pattern in the mid-1860s. In reference to the Black Hills, they wrote:

> Their domain is the vast rolling prairie country, where a short nutritious grass covers the surface, affording ample food, winter and summer, for the herds of buffalo, pronghorn, and other game upon which the Indians depend for their subsistence, shelter, and clothing.
>
> Central to this domain in an isolated spur of the Rocky mountains, known as the 'Black Hills,' well defined on the maps of General Warner, from which numerous streams flow in every direction, tributary to the Platte, Missouri, and Yellowstone.
>
> This mountain region, and the valleys and hills adjacent to the streams, are the fastnesses to which the tribes resort in winter, or in case of danger of war parties in summer; the taller grasses of the river bottoms and the cottonwood timber that skirts these streams affording protection from storms and subsistence for their ponies. But usually, summer and winter, the Indians follow the buffalo herds, making lodges and clothing of their skins, and food of their flesh.

In his report to the Indian Claims Commission, Zachary Gussow (1974:8) describes the pattern for the Cheyennes and Arapahos in this way:

> For the winter season each band or camp group retired to a traditional tract of territory in which it had one or more favored sites. Sheltered valleys and hollows at the foothills of mountains and along streams, away from the open prairies, affording if possible wood, water and game, were sought out as protection against the cold winters and severe snows and winds. Group hunting played an important part of the winter food quest, although the group formed was smaller than in summer and the buffalo were driven into pounds or enclosures large enough to hold a hundred head or more.

John Moore (1996:68-69) also represents the Cheyennes' wintering patterns and annual subsistence cycle in similar terms.

More recently, Brian Reeves (1990:171-172) gave a generalized description of tribal dependence on forested mountain ranges in the adaptive strategies of Plains Indians as follows:

> Life in the Northwestern Plains was tethered to the seasonal movements and behavior of the bison, on which natives relied for most of their material needs...The yearly life cycle in these northern climes can be divided into two periods: over wintering and summering. The over wintering period extended from October to May when bison ranged through their fall, winter, and spring habitats. The ranges of the herds during these seasons were principally along the western and northern edges of the Plains. Some herds also wintered in such prairie mountain ranges as the Cypress Hills in southeastern Alberta and the Black Hills in South Dakota...A critical requisite for native settlement, from fall to spring, was fuel. All else being equal, depletion of local firewood supplies was the major reason camps had to be moved...In summer, water was the limiting resource for natives, their dogs, and bison. The bison had, after calving in May, moved out into their ranges on the shortgrass Plains area. As summer wore on and waterholes and streams dried up, the movements of herds and man became increasingly circumscribed and focused on major rivers...Wild plants were collected: tubers and root crops in the late spring and early summer in the foothills and mountains, and berries in mid- to late summer in the Plains area and foothills. Another important activity during the snow-free months was the acquisition of flakable stone for small tool manufacture.

Some of the populations who followed this strategy and lived near the Black Hills spent the late summer months in the grasslands surrounding the Hills, entered their high elevation interiors in the early summer to gather lodgepoles and other plant resources, and camped in their accessible lower elevation valleys over the winter (Ludlow 1875:18; Hassrick 1964:156; Moore, J. 1987:164; Sundstrom, L. 1989:95-96, 107).

The adoption of horses, however, brought with it a limiting condition for the populations who followed a bison hunting orientation -- the necessity of finding locations with adequate winter pasturage (Moore, J. 1987:140-175). Some of the lower elevation valleys of the Black Hills in and around the Hogback certainly fit the conditions that Reeves described, and when horse herds were moderately sized, they also met the need of finding good winter grazing grounds (Moore, J. 1987:163-164). Many areas of the southern Hills, especially in the vicinity of the Hot Springs and Wind Cave, would have offered good wintering sites not only because they were several degrees warmer than the surrounding plains and often remained snow free throughout much of the winter, but also because they contained abundant supplies of fresh water and the kinds of grasses that were much desired as fodder for Native horse herds (Moore, J. 1987:70-71, 171-173). This area clearly supported large horse raising enterprises after European Americans arrived, so there is no doubt it would have done so when the area was occupied by tribal peoples (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70: 41, 45; Sundstrom, J. 1977: 161-164, 1994: 48-51).

While many bands spent a greater part of the year along the lower elevation valleys of the Black Hills, their higher elevation interiors became associated even more with specialized and temporary forms of resource procurement once horses were incorporated into local economies (Sundstrom, L. 1989:101-102). As discussed in more detail earlier, many European American settlers and military observers of the 1870s claimed that local tribes did not live in the Black Hills and used them only to gather their lodgepoles. While it is true that there is no evidence for their year-round occupancy of the interior Hills, there is a substantial body of material on their regular and extended presence in the Hill's lower elevation valleys from late fall through the early months of spring. Solid data also supports their shorter but recurring stays in the interiors during the late spring and early summer. The only time of the year many groups customarily stayed in the open prairies was from late summer to early fall when they conducted their communal bison hunts. Indeed, seasonal transhumance movements, often covering hundreds of miles of territory, were very common for the Lakotas, the Cheyennes, and the Arapahos (Elkin 1940:210-211; Hassrick 1964:154-156; Moore, J. 1987:164; Fowler 2001:847). At certain points in their histories, the Black Hills were located at the center of these movements.

The best description of the use of the Black Hills for over wintering and summering comes from Royal B. Hassrick's ethnography on the Lakotas. He argues that the Lakotas preferred to establish their camps in forest-like environments, near level-wooded and well-watered areas surrounded by ridges and high bluffs. The open high grounds were used only for some of the ceremonial camps and large-scale buffalo hunts in late summer (Hassrick 1964:65, 153). He even states that "their dependence upon this modified woodland environment may have accounted for their determination to acquire and keep the Black Hills country" (Hassrick 1964:65). Hassrick then goes on to describe how the use of these wooded areas was coordinated with their annual subsistence cycle.

In the late fall at the sign of the first snowfall, the Lakotas gathered at predetermined locations to select their winter campsites, which were occupied from December until March or April. For many Lakota bands, these were typically situated in valleys along local waterways or in well-timbered hollows in the Black Hills with good access to water and fuel (Hassrick 1964:156). These were also areas in easy reach of game, especially elk and deer. In fact, there were a

number of well-defined "Indian" trails, documented by early explorers and settlers that criss-crossed the Hills. Some were apparently used in the winter months because Henry Newton and Walter Jenney (1875:302) reported: "The snow must be sometimes deep enough to hide trails and landmarks, as the main Indian trails leading through the Hills were marked by stones placed in the forks of the trees or by one or more sets of blazes, the oldest almost overgrown by the bark." At this time of the year, men made their tools and also spent time away from their winter camps to hunt when supplies preserved from the communal fall hunts were low. This was the season of the small hunting party that the Lakota knew as the *tate*. Before the large bison herds disappeared from the Hills, the wintertime would have been the best season to hunt this animal, using various driving techniques. After the 1850s, when bison started to rapidly disappear, the bands that remained near the Black Hills turned increasingly to elk and deer as a source of meat. The hides of these two animals were especially valued in the manufacture of clothing, and winter was the time of the year that women fabricated and decorated a wide range of items made from their skins.

In early spring, the winter camps broke up with smaller groups traveling in search of deer, elk, and pronghorn, which, Hassrick (1964:154-155) notes, remained as important as bison at this time of the year. Hunting was not a primary pursuit during the spring months, however, because the meat of many ungulates, especially bison, was unpalatable, lacking in fat, proteins, and other nutrients (Binnema 2001:51), but it was a good season to capture certain animals for their hides.[2] This was also the preferred season for trapping eagles (Grinnell 1972:1:299-302). It was the time of the year for breaking in the yearlings from the horse herds, for repairing tipis with hides procured over the winter months, and for smoking skins to use in making leggings and moccasins (Hassrick 1964:155). Finally, this was the season when women collected sap from box elder trees to make sugar (Ibid.).

By late spring, from May to June, family groups were usually moving to higher elevation locations in the Black Hills to gather vegetables, pick berries, procure medicinal plants, and cut lodgepoles for their tipis. Most groups moved away from the valleys of rivers and creeks in and around the Black Hills at this time of the year because they were prone to flash floods.[3] This was also the season when some groups traveled long-distances to trade, and when young men ventured far a field to raid horses from enemy tribes (Hassrick 1964:155). John Moore (1996:67-68) writes that this was the time of the year when the Cheyennes entered into major battles to protect and advance their territorial ranges. Finally, the late spring corresponded with the initiation of a cycle of ceremonial observances, which were conducted in the Hills' interiors (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a: 42-43; Black Elk C. 1992a:50-52).

In midsummer, Lakotas came together in large encampments for their annual Sun Dances and multitribal political deliberations (Black Elk C. 1992a:50-52). By late August, they were moving to the open grasslands where buffalo were sighted to commence their communal hunts, using horses and surround techniques (Hassrick 1964:156). From then until November, hunting was the focus of their economic activity. Men hunted bison at this time of the year in larger communal formations, known as the *wanisapa*, while women prepared the robes and dried the meat.

[2] There is some evidence that tribes hunted bison at this time of the year for specific uses. According to some Cheyennes (Grinnell 1972:1:226), the early spring was the best time to take bison for dressing hides used in making covers for tipis. It would have also been the season to hunt newly born calves, whose meat was considered a delicacy.

[3] Descriptions of flash floods along the Fall River as well as Beaver and French creeks are found in some of the early settler accounts, and in the case of the Fall River, some early settlers claim they learned about its flooding from the local Lakotas (Petty 1973:2-3, Williams 1973:13; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:197; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317).

Women also used this time to gather nuts, plums, berries, and other food plants which matured in the late summer and early fall (Ibid:156, 166).

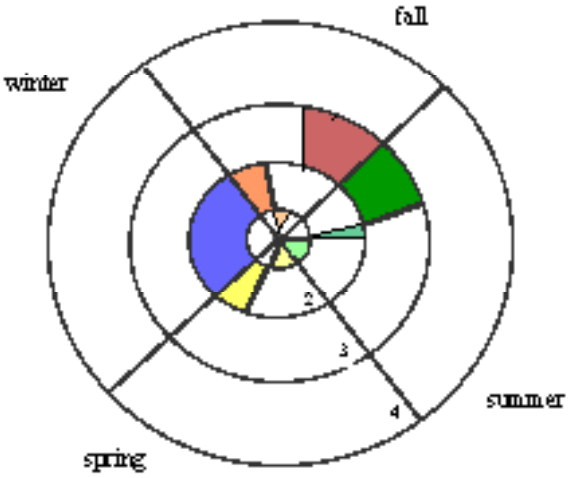
The use of the Black Hills' low elevation valleys as a primary location for winter settlement and its higher reaches for early summer procurement activity appears to have been a very common pattern during the prehistoric era as well. In the Late Archaic period, populations associated with the Pelican Lake, Besant, and Avonlea traditions hunted buffalo on the grasslands surrounding the Black Hills but also spent time on the margins and in the low elevation valleys of the Hills during the winter (Sundstrom, L. 1989, 1990). There is also considerable lithic evidence of their presence in the higher elevation interiors of the Hills, but none of it suggests any year around occupancy as had been the case among the broad-spectrum foraging groups in earlier phases of the Archaic (Sundstrom, L. 1989:59-61; Hannus 1994:184, 188-190).

In the historic era, the bands of many different tribal nations used the Black Hills as a location for their winter campsites, as a place to hunt in the fall, as a site to gather plants and other resources in the early summer, and as an area to gather for trading, political meetings, and ceremonial observances. However the Black Hills were used, they became a primary feature of the territorial landscape for many different tribes. They were a prominent part of the Padouca Apaches' and probably some of the Comanches' territorial ranges in the early decades of the eighteenth century, followed by Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa) Apaches, Crows, and Arapahos in the middle decades of the same century, and then by the Cheyennes at its close (Tabeau in Abel 1939:132, 151-153; Truteau in Nasatir 1952:301, 379; Henry in Coues 1965:1:383-384; Grinnell 1972:1:25-33; Bent in Hyde 1968:12-14; Hurt 1974:105-106, 112, 122, 123; Mooney 1979:153-154, 164, 229). When the Lewis and Clark Expedition arrived in the area, the Arapahos and Cheyennes were the dominant populations in the Hills, but some of the Apaches and possibly Comanches still remained there as well (Tabeau in Abel 1939:71, 104; Truteau in Nasatir 1952:379; Moulton 1983-87:3:85, 133-135, 420-422, 425-426, 438-439, 487-488). Over the next forty years, the Lakotas gradually gained ascendancy in the region with small segments of Arapahos and some Cheyennes remaining in their midst (Atkinson and O'Fallon 1825:606-608; Deland and Robinson 1918:179; Denig in Ewers 1961:19-23; Maximilian in Thwaites 1966: 1:305; Bradbury 1966:139-140, 176; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:154; Hurt 1974:227; DeMallie 1975:353-356).

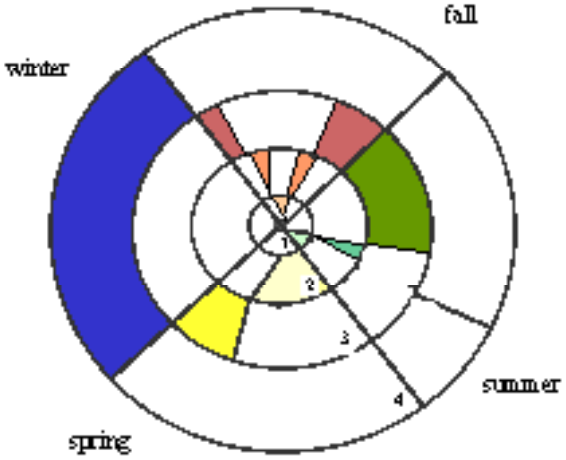
The adaptive patterns of the populations whose production was focused on bison were clearly related to the habits and movements of these animals, especially their tendency to congregate in the late summer on the open grasslands and to disperse in the late fall and winter in sheltered valleys and canyons (Oliver 1962:6-18; Isenberg 2000:43-44). Although bison movements between the winter and summer were predictable in a general way, their appearance at specific locations was often erratic. Drought, warm winters, and severe blizzard conditions changed their numbers, migrations, and gathering habits locally, and under these circumstances, bands sometimes faced hunger and even starvation (Bamforth 1987; Epp 1988; Clow 1995; Lott 2002:75).

When the Black Hills stood literally at the center of Cheyenne and Lakota occupation in the early half of the nineteenth century, not all of the bands that represented these two tribal nations used the Black Hills as a wintering site or as a primary staging ground for their subsistence activities. Some, however, wintered regularly in the low elevation valleys of the Black Hills and along the forks of the Cheyenne River. In the late summer and early fall, they moved out onto the surrounding grasslands to hunt bison and pronghorn. Other groups wintered in the more distant valleys of the White and Bad rivers and the main branch of the Cheyenne below its forks; these locations, however, were still within easy reach of the Hills. In one case, they maintained a

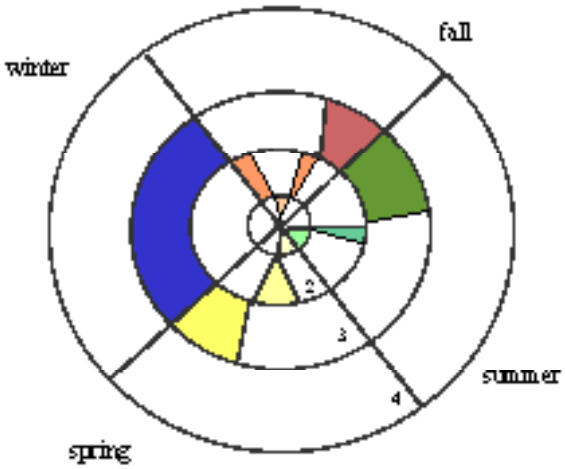
FIGURE 20. Locations for Seasonal Procurement Activity



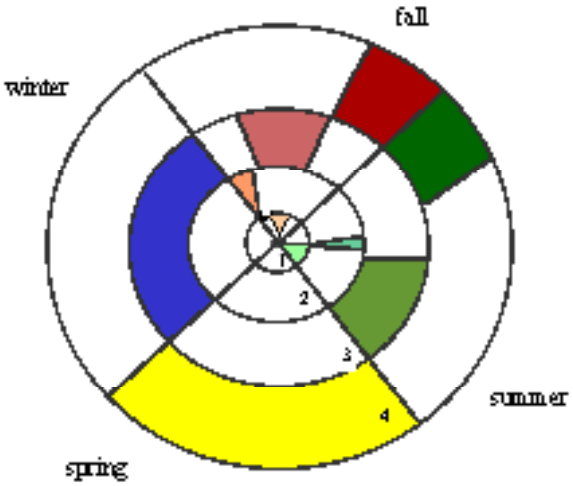
Localizied Bison Hunting Pattern



Long-Distance Bison Hunting Pattern



Proximate Bison Hunting Pattern



Semihorticultural Pattern

1. Black Hills Interiors	3. Upper Reaches of Missouri River Tributaries
2. The Hogback and Race Track	4. Missouri/Platte Rivers

localized relationship to the Hills, and in the other, a proximate one. There were other bands among the Lakotas and Cheyennes who never lived near the Black Hills for any extended period or who moved away from their reaches when bison populations began to decline after the 1850s. In this case, the bands held a long-distance relationship to the region, and the Hills were part of their secondary or even tertiary territorial ranges. What is apparent from the historic and ethnographic literature is that the tribes who depended upon bison hunting as their primary productive pursuit and who followed more nomadic lifestyles had diverse patterns of relationship to the Black Hills. It is worthwhile to discuss some of these here in greater depth as they apply to the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos, since these are the tribal nations whose nineteenth-century affiliations with the Black Hills are the best documented.

a. Local Connections

The groups who wintered and remained near the Black Hills probably followed the most variegated pattern of subsistence where bison hunting was balanced with other kinds of procurement. This pattern fits most closely with the cycle described by Royal B. Hassrick, where groups wintered in the Black Hills and moved out to the grasslands beyond the two branches of the Cheyenne River in late summer. Even as late as the 1860s, after bison had largely disappeared from the Black Hills, Ferdinand Hayden (1862:373-374) reported that the Lakotas were able to make a modest living from the abundant supplies of pronghorn, deer, elk, and bighorn that still inhabited the Hills.

There is strong evidence that until the early 1870s many Lakotas and Cheyennes established their wintering sites at a variety of locations along the two forks of the Cheyenne River. Some camped inside the Hogback on the Race Track or near the gateway canyons along waterways such as the Fall River and Beaver, Rapid, and French creeks on the eastern sides of the Hills and in Red Canyon in their southern reaches. Others wintered near Bear Butte and Spearfish creeks on the northern side of the Hills, and some were reported to stay at Stockade-Beaver, Rawhide, and Cold Springs creeks on the western side (Barrett 1913:3-5; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:1, 7,20,33,47-48,58; Hyde 1937:152-153, 1961:20; One Bull in Hilger 1946:150; McKelvie 1960: 92-93; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Praus 1962:13; Hassrick 1964:12-13; Grinnell 1972:1:277, 278; Iron Teeth in Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:4-5; Marquis and Limbaugh 1973:27; Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1988:43-45; La Pointe 1976:74,89; White Cow Bull in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:208-210 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:364-369]; Wawoslata in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:264-270 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:452-463]; Nakpogi Ogiya in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:319-320 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:543-546]; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:155-156, 164, 371; Standing Bear in DeMallie 1984:158; Mallery 1987:117; Moore, J. 1987:165; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:107; Sundstrom, L. 2002:109-110).

One description of this adaptation comes from Stephen M. Barrett's biographical story (1913) of *Hoistah*, a Cheyenne woman who was born in the early nineteenth century in a winter camp at the foot of the Black Hills along the north fork of the Cheyenne River. He writes about the movements of Hoistah's band as follows:

> In the spring the Cheyenne moved down the river among the green meadows, seeking pasture for their ponies and following the deer, elk and buffaloes as they left the shelter of the wooded hills. Protection being no longer needed, the animals entered the open country in the river valleys where the first tender grass springs up, and the warriors sought them there...and again the winter camp was made on the bank of the Cheyenne River.

> The Cheyennes as usual had come into the Black Hills before it was time for the game to be driven in to seek shelter, but no big game came, indeed it seemed that the big game, elk and buffaloes, would never come. Repeatedly hunting parties had returned to camp to report only ill luck.
>
> One band of hunters, going far down the river, came back with the report that the Crow Indians were encroaching upon the Cheyenne hunting grounds. Whether other Indians were driving the animals away or whether the mild winter weather induced them to remain longer in the open country was an unsettled question in the camp (Barrett 1913:11-13).

A Lakota perspective on this settlement comes from information that One Bull shared with Dick Stone (1982:23):

> My grandfather used to tell me that he and his people used to camp at 'Bear's Tipi,' a good many years before Sitting Bull was born. My grandfather usually lived around Sylvan Lake, in the Black Hills, in the wintertime. They liked to winter there because the cold winds were kept out by the Hills.
>
> The Sioux liked to spend the winter along the river that runs by the base of 'Bears Tipi'. This was fine winter country. While in camp here the people rested and had a quiet time. There were all kinds of animals there, buffalo, deer, elk, bear, and mountain lions. After the hides were tanned they were made into robes and buckskins. the women would make the skins into clothes. There was beaver trapped there along the streams. This was quite a long ways from a trading post where skins could be traded for White Man's goods. White men would come to the camps with oxen and stone boats and buy what skins were for sale.
>
> The Pine Ridge people liked to camp at 'Bears Tipi', too. Every once in a while Sitting-Bull would make a visit to this place. He would live there for several days and then go back to his people...

His brother, White Bull (in Stone 1982:25), also confirmed this pattern and said:

> Sometimes, years ago, we would go to 'Bears Tipi' and stay all winter. That is how the arrows and scraping knives came to be found there. When I was two years old I spent the winter there with the Minneconjou, Itazipco, and Uncpapa Bands. These bands all speak the same language. They hunted pronghorn, buffalo and deer. There were also black bears and grey wolves around this area.
>
> When I was fourteen years old we wintered at this place and again when I was eighteen years old. We wintered in different places around the Hill, each time.

Again, the populations who resided at these locations over the winter left them in the spring to travel to other locations in the Hills for specialized tasks like lodgepole procurement, and then in late summer, they moved to the surrounding grasslands to hunt bison beyond and between the two forks of the Cheyenne River (Standing Bear 1975:17-23; White Bull in Stone 1982:26; Moore, J. 1987:165).

b. Proximate Connections

In the same period, many of the Cheyennes, Lakotas, and some of the Arapahos also maintained winter camps outside the Black Hills and beyond the two forks of the Cheyenne River but still within a few days travel from these mountains. In the case of the pre-1840 Lakotas, the Oglalas and most of the Sicangus maintained winter campgrounds in regions south or east of the

Black Hills along the Bad, White, and Niobrara rivers, while Minneconjous and Itapizcos settled in the valleys of the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers in areas north and northeast of the Hills. Most of the Sihasapas and Hunkpapas wintered along the Grand River and remained out of direct reach of the Black Hills. Although some of them joined other Lakotas to winter near the Hills, this was generally not their primary subsistence range but a secondary or tertiary one (Atkinson and O'Fallon 1825:607; Deland and Robinson 1918:95n12, 112n51, 121-122, 141, 160, 179, 199, 234; Clyman 1960:16-17; Hyde 1937:20, 39-40, 46-47, 1961:17, 28; Odell 1942:21-30; Denig in Ewers 1961:16-23; Hurt 1974:179, 181, 199, 200, 201, 204, 206; DeMallie 1975:353-356; Clow 1995).

In the case of the Cheyennes, the main body stayed at the forks of the river that bears their name until the 1820s when they moved en masse to the upper reaches of the Platte River. Many of the Omisis or *Ohmeseheso,* Northern Cheyenne, which included the Suhtaio or *So?taaeo?o*, encamped during the winter along the Belle Fourche and the upper reaches of the Little Missouri, but some were known to inhabit the upper reaches of the White River until the 1870s. The Masikota wintered primarily along the upper reaches of the White River and also in the southern Hills, the Hisiometaneo on the upper Niobrara, and the Totoimana on the north branch of the Platte, all of which are locations within easy reach of the Black Hills (Atkinson and O'Fallon 1825:606; Bradbury in Thwaites 1966:5:139-140, 176; De Smet in Thwaites 1966:22:136; Grinnell 1972:1:12-15, 30; Powell 1981:2:766-929; Moore, J. 1987:229-235, 1996:146-147).

Even when the winter camps of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were located in river valleys beyond the Hills, there is evidence that hunters came to the area in the fall and early winter to capture elk and other game (Denig in Ewers 1961:5-6; Grinnell 1972:1:276; Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931:7, 20, 47-48; Koller 1970:1-2; Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1984:147-148; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:21). Many of the groups who wintered outside the Hills in nearby river valleys also arrived in the Hills in small family groups in the late spring and early summer to fish and to gather lodgepoles, medicinal plants, and minerals (Hinman 1874:95; Newton and Jenny 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Bordeaux 1929:45, 82-83, 191-192; De Giradin 1936:63; Denig in Ewers 1961:6; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:270-271; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; 1988:65-66; Moore, J. 1981:14; Chittenden 1983:2:728; DeMallie 1984:156-157, 171, 173). When they came to the Hills, many of these groups joined those who wintered in the Black Hills at locations near the base of the Hills for trade, political negotiations, Sun Dances, and Scalp dances (Dorsey, J. 1894:448-449; Densmore 1918:256; Hyde 1937:82, 152-153, 1961:78, 106; Odell 1942:21-30; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:89; Grinnell 1972:1:368-381, 2:201-202; Mc-Laird and Turchen 1973:386; Singing Bear in Stars, Iron Shell, and Buechel 1978:353-359 [also in Buechel and Manhart 1998:604-617]; Schukies 1993:288; Price, C. 1996:81-82; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:48-50, 51-52; Sundstrom, L. 1996:189, 192, 194, 200).

By mid-summer, much of the Hills were empty of human habitation as groups moved out onto the grasslands to follow and select the herds to be culled in their large communal bison and pronghorn hunts. In some cases, however, they did not travel very far. In 1857, Lt. G.K. Warren (1875:15-16) met Minneconjou Lakotas hunting buffalo in the Red Valley near Inyan Kara Mountain on the western side of the Hills. Large pronghorn drives were known to take place among the Lakotas just outside the Hills on the headwaters of the White River (Denig in Ewers 1961:17-18; Hyde 1961:17) and also among the Cheyennes at the headwaters of the Little Missouri River or *Wokaihe'yunio'he* [Pronghorn Pit River] in their language (Grinnell 1906:17; Stands in Timber and Liberty 1967:84-85; Bent in Hyde 1968:17-21, 194, 196; Whiteman in Schwartz 1988:12). There are also a number of archeological sites in Fall River County along the south fork of the Cheyenne River associated with pronghorn hunting (Sundstrom, L. 2000:127-128). Thus, even though groups who wintered in proximate river valleys and hunted on nearby

grasslands used the Black Hills for specialized purposes over a brief period of time from the late spring through early summer, the Hills and their immediate surroundings were still part of their primary or secondary territorial range, and a location they used on a regular and recurring basis.

The transhumance movements of tribes in and around the Black Hills closely followed those of the ruminant animal species on which they depended for much of their subsistence. The larger accessible gateways to the Hills, such as the Buffalo Gap, were well-known points of entry for animals during the winter months, and as a result, they were popular locations to establish winter campsites (Standing Bear 1975:3, 17, 1978:43-45; Crow Dog in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:96). Bison, elk, and pronghorn commonly moved back and forth between their winter grazing lands on the Race Track and their summer feeding grounds outside the Hogback, and this movement is not only well-recorded in historic sources but also implicated in the archeological record (Tabeau in Abel 1939:77; Turner 1974:19; Moulton 1983-87:3:179-180, 182,222, 1983: 4:16. 482; 1983:6:338; Seton 1929:421; Sundstrom, L. 2000:125; White, D. 2002:23). As its name implies, the Buffalo Gap was a major entry and exit point for bison who moved between the Black Hills and the Nebraska grasslands and for pronghorns who followed long-distance migratory routes from the Hills to the grasslands along the upper reaches of the White River (Hayden 1862b:150; Seton 1929:421; Ewers 1938:12; Sundstrom, L. 1989.; Turner 1974:20, 141-142). Judging by the prehistoric and historic rock art found at Red and Craven canyons, also in the southern Hills, these appear to have been important migratory routes for local cervid populations too (Sundstrom, L. 1984, 1990). The association of the Black Hills with game animals is discussed in more detail in the next section, but it is worthwhile to note that it was not only a fundamental condition of the ways in which tribal nations adapted themselves to the area but also a defining feature of their cosmological relationship to the Hills (see Chapters Twelve through Sixteen).

Until the 1840s, when bison were still plentiful on the grasslands surrounding the Black Hills, this region became the primary territory for a succession of tribal nations who depended heavily on bison but followed other subsistence pursuits as well. After the 1850s, when bison populations began their precipitous decline, the territorial ranges of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes became more dispersed. More and more bands were wintering in areas outside the Black Hills. Yet, many of them continued to return to the Hills on a regular and recurring basis to carry on specialized procurement tasks and to attend social, political, or religious gatherings. Here they joined with the bands who, albeit in much smaller numbers, remained at the foot of the Black Hills until the reservation era.

c. Long-Distance Connections

The distances that tribal nations covered to reach the Black Hills and use them on a regular and recurring basis fluctuated considerably over time. In the case of the Cheyennes and the Lakotas, much of their early connection to the Hills entailed long distance movements from locations on the Missouri River that took up to a week's time to travel with a large party. At the end of the eighteenth century, when the Lakotas started to establish themselves on the Missouri and the lower reaches of the White, Bad, and Cheyenne rivers, the Black Hills were a long-distance destination which local bands reached in search of favorable bison hunting ranges from mid-summer to late fall, but it was also a destination in the late for spring for procuring lodgepoles and medicinal plants (Clow 1995). For some divisions, most notably the Oglalas, the Hills were probably the westernmost extension of their territorial range as early as the 1780s (Hyde 1937:17, 21-23; Ewers 1938:5, Larson 1997:23). Even earlier, Lakotas may have entered the Hills for different purposes in the company of the Cheyennes and Arikaras, who had clearly

followed this long distance pattern for some time. Before 1780, however, the Hills would have been a secondary or tertiary range for most of the Lakotas.

After the 1830s, many of the Lakotas abandoned their wintering grounds near the Missouri River and no longer returned to this area even to trade. The Black Hills were no longer a long-distance destination but a proximate location. The Lakotas' primary territorial ranges now hugged the Hills and their nearby watercourses (Atkinson and O'Fallen 1925:606-2608; Hyde 1937: 45; Thwaites 1966:1:305; Hurt 1974:187-233; DeMallie 1975; White 1978; Bray 1994; Price, C. 1996:21-22). This closely followed the pattern established by the Cheyennes whose territories encircled the Black Hills at the end of the eighteenth century, even as increasing numbers of Lakotas made this their home base (Truteau in Nasatir 1952:301; Bradbury 1966:139-140, 176; Moulton 1983-87-87:3:487-488; Moore, J. 1987:55-87).

In later decades, the situation became even more complex as growing numbers of Cheyennes and Lakotas moved away from the Black Hills to reach richer bison hunting grounds and/or better grazing lands for their horses. Some bands shifted their primary territorial ranges to locations well south of the Hills, and in time, the headwaters of the south fork of the Platte and even the Republican and Arkansas rivers became the locations where they over wintered (Bordeaux 1929: 45, 82-83, 191-192; Hyde 1961:35, 55-56; Bent in Hyde 1968:31-57; Berthong 1963:19-21; Fowler 2001:840-842). Other bands, however, turned their sights northwest, making the valleys of the Powder River and its tributaries their principal winter camping sites (Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631; Hyde 1937:89, 93; Dodge 1959:130-131, 373; Denig in Ewers 1961:19-23; Hurt 1974:228-229; Price, C. 1996:31-37; DeMallie 2001:794-799; Fowler 2001:842; Moore, J., Liberty, and Straus 2001:864).

By the 1850s, when many Lakotas and Cheyennes had moved their primary hunting ranges away from the Black Hills, the relationships of local bands to the area became much more diversified. Some of this variation was probably a product of the predominant adaptive strategies local bands followed. As described earlier, the bands who became heavily vested in a market-oriented economy, where bison were hunted for their exchange value as much as subsistence, were probably the ones who moved the greatest distances from the Black Hills (Mekeel 1943:168-173; Swagerty 1988:73; Kardullas 1990:35; Price, C. 1996:47; Klein 1993; Pickering 1994:61; Moore, J. 1996:30-33). Since bison were no longer plentiful east of the Black Hills, many of the Lakotas and Cheyennes who were actively involved in the hide market began to set their sights on the rich bison grounds along the two forks of the Platte River, the Powder River, and even as far south as the Republican and Arkansas rivers (Hyde 1961:35, 55-56; Moore, J. 1996:13-29). As already detailed in Chapter Four, prodigious amounts of robes were taken for this trade. Yet, even those who were less dependent on the hide market moved farther away from the Black Hills when bison ranges started to contract.

Many Oglalas, Minneconjous, and Itazipcos, along with Arapahos and Cheyennes, began to move towards and congregate at locations along the north branch of the Platte River, in the Powder River country, and eventually as far north as the Tongue and Yellowstone rivers. Most of these areas were outside the peripheries of the Black Hills, and in time, other wooded hills and mountainous regions, such as the Laramie and Big Horn Mountains of Wyoming, were used as wintering and summering locations. Other bands moved south of the Platte and no longer used the Hills either, except on an irregular basis. Most of the southern Arapahos, southern Cheyennes, and Lakotas (predominantly Sicangus) who hunted on the Republican and Arkansas rivers were now trading at posts near the present-day sites of Denver and Colorado Springs, and even when they came north to Fort Laramie, they had little reason to route their travels near the Black Hills. These groups were now spending time in the Sand Hills of Nebraska and/or the foothills of

the Rocky Mountains and using these areas as places to gather lodgepoles and medicine in the summer months, to hunt elk and deer in the fall, and to over winter. Some bands returned to the Black Hills periodically for political and ceremonial purposes; however, for most of them, the Hills were now a tertiary territorial range (Hyde 1937:85-86, 1961:35, 55-56, 78, 97).

Still, a number of bands traveled long distances to the Black Hills on a regular and recurring basis. Here, the Hills remained part of their primary range, a central location to camp in the late spring and/or late fall either en route to trading posts on the Platte River or as a destination to procure specialized resources. In the spring, these bands used their long-distance travels as an opportunity to enter the interiors of the Hills to secure lodgepoles, to gather berries and medicinal plants, and to conduct ceremonies. Fishing took place here at this time of the year as well. In the late fall, the hunting of elk, deer, pronghorn, and bighorn was a primary procurement activity for men, while the gathering of acorns was a focus for women. For other bands, however, the Black Hills became part of their secondary or tertiary territorial ranges. They still came here to hunt, gather, meet, and conduct their ceremonial observances, but they appear to have done so on an a more irregular basis (Wooden Leg in Marquis 1931; Hyde 1937:89, 93, 106, 113, 152-153, 1961:99; Ewers 1938:88; Denig in Ewers 1961:22, 25; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:200; McLaird and Turchen 1973:375-377; Hurt 1974:242; Powell 1981:2: 923; Fowler 1982:34-44, 2001:843; Moore, J. 1987:165, 205-251; Bray 1994:179, 185-186; Price, C. 1996:26-27, 46-47, 49).

William Bordeaux (1929:191-192), a Sicangu Lakota whose family wintered along the Platte River, describes this long-distance relationship to the Black Hills in some detail, and it is worth quoting his words here. As he writes:

> As a general rule, the Sioux Indians spent their winter months as far south as the Republican River, where the winter months are milder and the climate more moderate than in the northern territory.
>
> The buffalo also concentrated in the south country to escape the severe winter months in the north. Each spring lured the Sioux on the trail of vast herds of these animals moving north. The Black Hills are right in the path of these trails.
>
> When the foothills were reached the Sioux scattered out into the mountains to hunt the smaller game animals, such as the deer, antelope, and mountain sheep. Numberless droves roamed in the green valleys and gulches of these wonderlands.
>
> The Indian was at a disadvantage when trying his luck on these sensitive animals out in the open. It was almost an impossibility to accomplish the feat. The dense forest with its heavy brush, gave the Indian hunter more advantage in hunting these animals in the Black Hills.
>
> These hunting opportunities together with the abundance of wild fruit lured the Sioux into these wonderlands yearly, to hunt and gather wild fruit to sustain them through the winter months.
>
> When all necessary nourishment and equipment was obtained the Sioux would then vacate their summer haunts for the warmer climate in the south. The approach of fall weather, with its cold north winds, would compel the vast herds of buffalo to start on the southward march and migrating with them were the harvest-laden Indians.
>
> Completing the journey to their southern territory would require several weeks. The Platte River country with its fertile valleys and timbered banks would tempt several of the

> bands to remain for the winter, while the remainder continued south to the Republican River.

Some of the Cheyennes also maintained a long-distance summer relationship to the Black Hills. As one Northern Cheyenne elder told John Moore (1981:14):

> It was just like a vacation--in the old days, everybody went back to the Black Hills every summer. After they used their heavy tools, like corn grinders, nut stones and things, they would hide them around some place and then come back the next summer and use them again...They used to always return to Black Hills. They never did leave it permanently. The way my grandmother used to say, even when they traveled far, they always returned. They really thought a lot about this, Bear Butte and Black Hills. They always came back, this was their way of life.

So no matter how far away some of the Lakotas and Cheyennes traveled, the Hills continued to act like a magnet drawing them back at certain seasons to carry on any of a variety of activities.

The extent of the territory that some of these bands followed in the course of a year is revealed by Nicholas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:154-165), who described the travels of his family between 1873 and 1875. In 1873-1874, they spent the winter at White Buttes near Fort Robinson. In the spring, they headed for the Black Hills to cut lodgepoles, following Horse Creek where they briefly encamped. Moving north away from the south fork of the Cheyenne, they made camp at the foot of Buffalo Gap to hunt deer and pronghorn. From here, they traveled to Split Toe Creek, then to Spring Creek, and finally, to Rapid Creek where they moved to the Hills' higher elevation locations to find lodgepoles. On their return trip to White Buttes, they followed Spring Creek down to the south fork of the Cheyenne and then took Horse Creek south to a place near Fort Robinson where a Sun Dance was held. In the fall of 1875, Black Elk's family set out to join Crazy Horse's band on the Tongue River. They camped at Horse Creek, next at Warbonnet Creek, and then moved north along the western edge of the Hills by way of Sage Creek, then Stockbridge-Beaver Creek, and onward to Driftwood Creek. During these travels, a side trip was made into the interiors of the Black Hills where Black Elk received a vision. Moving away from the Black Hills, they camped at Taking the Crow Horses Creek and then along the Powder to the Tongue River. After hunting buffalo and processing the meat over several weeks, they returned to the White Butte area of Nebraska where they wintered again. Even though long-distance excursions such as these appear to have been part of a regular and recurring annual pattern for some bands, others probably made them on a less frequent basis. In this pattern, the base and interior areas of the Black Hills were clearly important destinations or stopping points for food procural and ceremonial observance. Again, the point must be made that this kind of travel was not exceptional for the Lakotas (Walker 1982:189), the Cheyennes (Moore, J. 1987:165, 205-251), or other tribal nations in the area. It was characteristic of the aggregative patterns of adaptation that Kingsley Bray (1994) identified for the Oglalas in the nineteenth century.

There were Lakota bands, especially among the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa divisions, who traditionally wintered in areas farther north along the Grand Little Missouri, Powder, and Tongue rivers and who traded at posts on the upper reaches of the Missouri River. Most of them had little occasion to pass by or come to the Hills except for specific purposes. Although some came for specialized procurement activities, political gatherings, and ceremonial observances, the Hills had always been a long distance destination and a secondary or tertiary territorial range for most of them (Denig in Ewers 1961:15-29; Schoolcraft 1851-57:3:629-631). A few bands related to the Minneconjous, however, were reported to winter in or near the northern Hills after the 1850s (Vestal 1934:5-6; Odell 1942:27-28; One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25).

4. Pastoralist Orientations

There was yet another adaptive orientation in the region of the Black Hills, but this one appears to have been confined to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at the height of the intertribal horse trade. During the protohistoric and early historic eras, there were populations who included the Black Hills as a secondary or tertiary procurement area and who traveled long distances to reach them every summer. Before the 1820s, and perhaps for some decades thereafter, there were specialized horse-trading bands that annually traveled from the southern plains to the Black Hills to trade their horses for guns and other British and French trade goods. These populations spent much of their summer trading in areas in proximity to the Hills, and they no doubt entered the interiors at these times to procure specialized resources or as part of their everyday subsistence strategies while staying in the region. It seems safe to assume that, in the eighteenth century, there were a number of bands that ranged between the Black Hills in the summer and the southern plains in the winter. This is suggested by the fact that the Kiowas, Plains (Kiowa and Padouca) Apaches, Comanches, and also a group called "Ietans" appear simultaneously in the records of Spanish observers in areas south of the Arkansas River and by French and American reporters along the Missouri (Hyde 1959:99, 201; Mooney 1979:167; Kavanagh 1996:69, 128; Foster and McCollough 2001:927; Parks 2001b:966). In the nineteenth century, some of the Cheyennes were known to follow a transhumance pattern of movement in which they acquired horses in the Southwest, grazed them on the southern plains over the winter, and then brought them north to trade in the summer at locations on the edge of the Black Hills and also along the Missouri River (Jablow 1951; Moore, J. 1996:30-33; Isenberg 2000:46). The groups who became specialized pastoralists with horse herds numbering in the thousands ultimately remained in the south because of the milder winters and better grazing conditions for their horses. The Cheyennes, however, returned regularly to the Black Hills. John Moore (1981:14) comments on how the Cheyennes viewed these movements:

> Modern elders also provide the reasons for the migratory patterns of the Cheyenne bands. While the whole tribe preferred to spend some summer time in the Black Hills, after about 1830 there weren't enough buffaloes in the area to support the whole tribe through the winter, so some bands had to make winter camps along the rivers of the southern plains. This also conserved grass, for as the horse herds of the Cheyennes began to grow, they needed more grass than the Black Hills area could provide through the winter.

The Southern Arapaho leader Left Hand gave a similar explanation to Hugh Scott (1907:558) in 1897. Most of the bands who came to specialize in horse herding and trading continued to rely on bison as an important source of food; however, many of the decisions they made about their own transhumance migrations were not determined simply by bison movements but more critically by the locations of good winter pasturage for their horses. When these herds were small, various locations in and around the Black Hills, especially along the southeastern stretches of the Race Track, would have been good spots to graze horses over the winter and at other times of the year as well. Certainly after European Americans arrived in the southern Hills, this area, including lands that are now part of Wind Cave National Park, was a popular location to raise and graze thoroughbred horses, as evidenced in the histories of local ranches, including the Valentine Ranch at Wind Cave National Park (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41, 45; McAdam 1973:27; Sundstrom, J. 1977:161-164, 1994:48-51).

5. Early Agency Orientations

When European and then later American traders entered the country near the Black Hills, many married into local Indian families and adapted their lifestyles to the "customs of the country." Over the next century, the descendants of these unions formed their own distinct communities, which were connected on one side to their father's commercial enterprises and on the other to their mother's communities of origin (Mekeel 1943:188; Parkman in Feltskog 1969:312; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:34-38; Bent in Hyde 1968; Swagerty 1988:75, 82; Bray 1994:178-179; Pickering 1994:61). Some of the bands whose daughters married local traders began to winter and even establish year-round campsites near the trading posts run by their in-laws, and some of their men were hired as "hunters" to provision the traders' meat supplies (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:42). One well-known band of this order was associated with Fort Laramie and known as the *Wagluke*, "Loafers" or "Hangers Around the Fort." In his 1856 annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Twiss (1856b:98) wrote:

> These Indian traders have Indian families and a large circle of relatives among the Indian bands. Besides these, there is always a great number of Indian families who, from long habit and inclination, make it their home at the trading posts, and would from necessity plant and raise corn for food, when they once learned the manner of doing it from the Indian trader.

Thirteen years later, De Witt C. Poole (1869:315), the agent at Whetstone Agency, wrote:

> The Indians located immediately at this agency are known as "Loafer," composed of individuals who have seceded from the various bands of the Sioux and Cheyennes, and number about one thousand souls. They are mostly inclined to cultivate the soil, and adopt the habits of civilized life, instigated thereto by long association with the whites who have married into their families in many instances.

The same year John Burbank (1869:302-303), Governor and Ex Officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reiterated Poole's observations and reported that one thousand Indians at the Whetstone Agency, largely representing seceders from the Cheyenne and Sioux bands, had long-term relationships with whites. Many of these Lakotas and Cheyennes married non-Indians, farmed, and adopted European American cultural practices. Indeed, as Scudder Mekeel (1943:189) wrote, the government recognized these bands as part of a permanent class that typically stayed at the agency throughout the year but left periodically to hunt and procure wild plant products elsewhere.

The bands whose daughters married European Americans often served as go-betweens, helping to negotiate exchanges between other tribal bands and the traders. In later years, many of these bands played a similar bridge role in dealings between representatives of the U.S. government and local tribes. Susan Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner's book, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History* (1988), gives considerable insight into the history and lifestyles of the bands associated with Susan's father, James Bordeaux, a trader who operated a post along the Platte and in later years, the White River. What is clear from this book is that, like other bands, the *Wagluke*, or Loafers, made regular trips to the Black Hills to hunt deer and elk in the late fall and to procure lodgepoles in the spring (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:21). The Black Hills was clearly a part of a long-distance, but probably a secondary or tertiary, territorial range for the *Wagluke* Lakotas who wintered at Fort Laramie.

Although many Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho bands still followed adaptive patterns independent of the agencies, more and more were using the Black Hills in the fashion of the

Loafer bands after the 1860s. Fort Laramie and later other agencies, such as Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, were becoming popular locations to over winter because these were sites where treaty annuities were distributed. With the disappearance of bison east of the Black Hills and along the Platte, many bands became more dependent on the annuities they received from the government in the form of food, clothing, and tools (Olson 1965:171-198; Powell 1981:2:815-817; Price, C. 1996:102-132). In time, a greater portion of the combined Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho population remained at the agencies year-round, following the pattern established by the Loafer bands in earlier decades. By 1872, probably half of this population made the agencies their winter homes (Daniels 1872:268-269).

As the agencies started to function as wintering grounds, some local bands began to cover more than five hundred miles of territory annually to reach good bison hunting territory. As described earlier, Black Elk's family wintered in the area of Fort Robinson in the years between 1873 and 1875, set out in the spring for the Black Hills where they gathered lodgepoles, fished, and carried out other procurement activities, and then traveled to the bison ranges on the Powder and Tongue River where they remained from midsummer to late fall, at which point some began the return trip to their winter camps in Nebraska. In this instance, even though their relationship to the Black Hills entailed a long-distance connection, they were still visited on a regular and recurring basis and remained part of the band's primary territorial range.

When Lakota agencies were located on the White River, after 1873, Red Cloud's near Crawford, Nebraska and Spotted Tail's just a few miles down river to the east, they were within easy striking distance of the southern Black Hills and the region of Wind Cave National Park. It was easy for the hunters of bands who wintered at these agencies to reach this area on specialized hunting trips in the late fall and early winter. Indeed, stories about Wind Cave from this period invariably involve hunters and hunting expeditions in wintertime (Wounded Horse in Koller 1970:1-2; Red Cloud in Matson 1972:39-42; Swift Bird in Kadlecek and Kadlecek 1981:147-148). Other bands, however, stayed in the Hills to winter at this time. This was certainly the case for Standing Bear's family, who wintered at the Buffalo Gap in 1874 (Standing Bear 1975:17-23), and it was also true for the Minneconjou followers of Makes Room, who camped over the winter near the present-day area of Sylvan Lake and Bear Lodge Butte (One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25). Even as late as the winter of 1875-1876, the bands of Spotted Tail and Swift Bear were reported to encamp at the edge of the Black Hills where they depended largely on elk and deer for food (Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:108-109). As reported earlier, Spotted Tail, with good reason, recommended the Buffalo Gap to Samuel Hinman (1874:93) as a site for his new agency. The practice of camping over the winter at the base of the Black Hills, close to water and wood, as well as good hunting grounds for deer and elk, appears to have been common during this period, and it followed an age-old pattern in which the late fall and early winter months were the times to procure elk and deer (Hassrick 1964:65, 156). After bison disappeared from the region, it is clear that local groups increasingly turned their sights to the Hills' still abundant populations of elk and deer (Hayden 1862a:373-374).

There is also no question that the Hills remained a popular area for the Lakotas to procure their lodgepoles as well as food and medicinal plants in the late spring and early summer months as described by Nicolas Black Elk (in DeMallie 1984:173) and others (Hinman 1874:95; Jenney 1875:182; Newton and Jenney 1880:323; Bushnell 1922:70; Bordeaux 1929:191-192; Standing Bear 1975:6-17; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72; Sundstrom, J. 1977:317, 369; Moore, J. 1981:14). It was in the summer of 1874 that the Black Hills Expedition came upon an Oglala band led by One Stab in the high interiors of the Black Hills where they were hunting and collecting plants (Ludlow 1875:16; Calhoun in Frost 1979:53-54, 59; Donaldson in Krause and Olson 1974:61; Curtis Krause and Olson 1974:173-174; Grant in Krause and Olson 1974:250;

Forsyth in Krause and Olson 1974:255-256; McAndrews 1974:81). In the following summer of 1875, Jenney's party came across a recently abandoned campsite where the occupants had been processing lodgepoles and carrying on unidentified ceremonial observances (Dodge in Kime 1996:105). Whether or not local bands camped at their agencies year around, they were clearly using the Hills in a traditional fashion and in seasonally specific ways.

Yet, in some years, the Black Hills became a primary territory, perhaps even a year-round shelter, for local bands fleeing the threat of U.S. military troops. In the aftermath of the 1854 Ash Hollow Massacre on the Platte River, many Lakota bands retired to the Black Hills and remained there until it was safe to return to their wintering spots farther south. Similarly, in the 1860s, in the wake of the Sand Creek Massacre and the Minnesota Conflict, many Cheyennes and Lakotas moved into the Hills to elude the soldiers. Cheyenne and Arapaho bands from the south, which typically wintered along the south fork of the Platte, returned north and took refuge in the Black Hills. There were also bands from the north and east that congregated in the Black Hills after 1862 to avoid General Sibley and his troops. As confrontations with the U.S. military escalated, there are increasing reports of the Black Hills being used by the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos as a sanctuary -- a place to hide women, children, and the elderly during periods of intense hostility (Twiss 1856:87; Warren 1875:51; Curtis 1907-30:3:178; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:68; Larson 1997:81). Yet, it is equally clear that in some periods tribes stayed away from the Hills when large military expeditions were known to be traveling there (Standing Bear, H. in DeMallie 1984:158; Bettelyoun and Waggoner 1988:108).

Notwithstanding the movement of many bands, now known as the "friendlies," to the agencies, other groups under the leadership of men like Crazy Horse, Lame Deer, and Sitting Bull of the Lakotas and Little Wolf and Box Elder of the Cheyennes continued to carry on their life independent of federal annuity distributions, and they did so largely in the region of the Powder, Tongue, and Yellowstone rivers where bison could still be found (Powell 1981:2:815-817, 921-922). In the 1870s, many of these bands also continued to hunt and winter in the neighborhood of the Black Hills but generally in their northern reaches (One Bull in Stone 1982:23; White Bull in Stone 1982:25). According to Ben Arnold (in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:287-288), a scout and mail carrier in the region during the 1870s, there were many reasons that some of the Lakotas stayed in the bison country and away from the agencies. One of these was that it was more economically profitable for them to do so. As he put it,

> The annuities offered the non-treaty Indians amounted to less than the value of one robe per capita. From a business standpoint, it was to their interest to remain away from the reservation, hunt buffaloes, and sell their robes to traders and buy what they needed for subsistence, and not depend upon the agency issues, which were never sufficient to keep them from feeling the pinch of hunger. This fact alone sent many friendlies to the hostile bands where they were could be better clothed and fed. The wild bands without agency assistance were in better physical condition than were the agency Indians. Barring the molestation of the military, life in the hostile camps was more desired than inactive life on an agency. The complaints against the soldiers were well founded, as at no time did they live outside their treaty rights (in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:287-288).

Although some within the ranks of the non-treaty bands came to the agencies to stay temporarily with relatives, their primary settlement and procurement areas were outside the reservation in their joint hunting territories. Many of those identified as Oglala and Sicangu traveled to the agencies at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail by way of the Black Hills, following familiar trails and camping at locations that had not been overtaken by the military and well-armed miners (Black Elk in De Mallie 1984:154-155). After 1875, under a policy of U.S. military containment, Lakota and Cheyenne bands were forced to stay near their agencies and considered "hostile" if

they chose to remain at more removed sites in the vast area that was still considered their territory, either as part of the Great Sioux Reservation or the joint intertribal hunting ground established by the Treaty of 1868 (Howard, E. 1875:254; Mekeel 1943:190; Powell 1981:2:932-936; Price, C. 1996:153; Arnold in Crawford and Waggoner 1999:239-240).

Some aspects of the older modes of adaptation to the Black Hills had persisted even as more bands became dependent on agency food distributions, but overall, the patterns had changed, especially after 1874. Most of the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos were now situated in proximity to agencies where the federal government supplied them with much of their food (Price, C. 1996:102-132). Although the Black Hills were still used in traditional ways, the numbers of people using them probably declined after European Americans invaded the area. Again, the popular idea that Native people did not use the Hills needs to be interpreted in the context of the time that people like Lieutenant Richard I. Dodge were writing about them. As explained earlier, the most intense use of the Hills by the Lakotas and Cheyennes took place in the winter months when European American exploratory parties did not travel in the area. Bands typically encamped at lower elevations along the Race Track or along the valleys of streams that cut through the Hogback. When European Americans happened to come upon small parties, or the remains of their recent encampments, in the high elevation interiors, it was during the early summer months, the time of the year the Lakotas and Cheyennes usually entered this part of the Hills. By the middle of the summer, the Hills were largely abandoned as groups set out for their bison hunting grounds on the high plains. Yet, it was during an era of declining use and during the off-season of their use that most of the first hand observations of the Black Hills were recorded and interpreted in such a way as to deny that the Lakotas and Cheyennes ever had any real occupancy of the area. In contradiction to the Lakota and Cheyennes' own oral traditions, the European American accounts of the mid-1870s cast doubt about their permanent occupancy of the Black Hills. Unfortunately, these sources are the ones that continue to be the primary references for many later, and often misleading, interpretations of tribal use and occupancy of the Hills in pre-reservation times (Jenney 1875:182; Palais 1941:3; Parker 1966:5-6; Froiland 1978: 1).

6. Modern Reservation Orientations

After the 1877 Agreement, the Lakotas and Cheyennes' relationships to the Hills became even more disrupted. In her 1997 dissertation, *The Significance of Place: The Lakota and Paha Sapa*, Alexandra Lyn New Holy (1997:155), organizes the Lakotas' historical relationship to the Black Hills in terms of three broad periods: one moves from myth times to 1877, when the Lakotas still held sovereignty over the Hills and when these mountains continued to provide for the "material and spiritual well-being of the people"; the second covers the period until Wounded Knee II in 1973, when the Lakotas pursued a monetary settlement for the illegal seizure of the Hills; and the third includes the time since when any kind of payment for the Hills was rejected. Her timeline can be elaborated upon further by giving attention to some of the concrete ways the Lakotas and Cheyennes continued to actually use the area, even though they no longer held *de facto* control over it. Indeed, contrary to her argument (New Holy 1997:112), part of which is premised on the notion that Lakotas were physically separated from the Black Hills, we take the position that even though they were removed and their material associations with them altered, many still maintained an active onsite relationship to the Hills.

While 1877 theoretically ended Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho sovereignty over the Hills, these tribes still entered and used them for many different purposes in subsequent decades. Indeed, as described in Chapter Six, many Lakotas and Cheyennes returned to the Black Hills in the early twentieth century, following a pattern of brief and even extended residency and use

during the summer and fall months. In Hot Springs, for example, some Lakotas were reported to spend their entire summer at a campground on the northern edge of the town (Bingham 1973:3; Petty 1973:23, 24). Until the early decades of the twentieth century, much of their presence in the region was associated with trade, subsistence activity, and the use of local waters for healing. From 1878 to 1918, when agencies received their food rations late or in insufficient quantities to meet local needs, government officials had little choice but to allow local tribes to find food off-reservation to stave off hunger and even starvation (Mekeel 1932:278; Stewart 1967-1970:71; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). Before 1920, it is clear that agents at Pine Ridge routinely issued passes to Lakotas to travel in the Hills for extended periods of time in the summer and fall "to gather roots and herbs" (Jones 1904:125-128; U.S. Senate 1904; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:262). Although hostile encounters with local settlers near the Buffalo Gap and Edgemont from 1889 to 1890 and a shoot-out with a Wyoming sheriff's posse in 1903 must have had some salutary effect on their off-reservation food procurement activity, there is no doubt it continued with or without government approval (Clark, B. 1983:68-69; Jones 1904).

Local European Americans remembered a number of instances of Lakotas hunting, procuring lodgepoles, and collecting plants for food and medicine in the Black Hills (Stewart 1967-1970: 71; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:12, 730; McAdam 1973:6; Smith, A. 1973:16; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:24, 33, 47, 72, 176, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293, 317, 379, 1994:75; Clark, B. 1983:68-69). A descendent of Nathaniel Dryden (in Fall River County Historical Society 1976:72), for example, recalled:

> In the summer when the teepsala or teepsins, a wild plant with a bulbous edible root, were ready for use, the Indians roamed the prairie in bands, digging and drying the teepsala for winter use. When Nat's children saw the Indians out digging the turnips nearby they would run to their mother and beg an old hen to trade to the Indians for some of the turnips. Ralph recalls that he and Elmer Curl, whose parents lived near Bert's place one year, dug Indian turnips by the hour.

The use of the Hills for gathering plants and minerals for practical or spiritual uses continues largely uninterrupted until the present-day. For this purpose, Lakotas came to the Hills not only from Pine Ridge but as far away as Standing Rock (LaPointe 1976:46; Black Elk in DeMallie 1984:46, 98, 133-134, 141, 253, 258-259; Ingram 1989:181; Young Bear and Theisz 1994:30, 128; Forbes-Boyte 1996:104, 106). One group was even reported at Wind Cave in 1910, requesting stones for use in healing (Pilcher 1964), and many continued to come to the neighboring thermal springs to bathe (Cook 1888; Casey 1949:284; Bingham 1973:11; Petty 1973:23; Williams 1973:16; Clark, B. 1983:23; de Mandat-Grancey 1984:293-294; LaPointe 1976:46). In addition, Cheyennes were known to travel to the Hills from Montana and even Oklahoma after the 1930s to collect plants and gather clays as well as minerals for their ceremonial paints (Odell 1942; Hart 1981:33, 39; Moore, J. 1981:14; Schlesier 1987:6). Both tribes also continued to use the Hills as a place to fast, pray, and conduct other ceremonial observances (see Section Four).

Especially after 1900, Lakotas were involved in the annual summer rodeo, fair, and festival activities of local white communities. As described in greater detail in the last chapter, certain groups traveled a regular summer circuit in the Hills, staying in the region for extended stays in their tipis and wall tents (Mekeel 1932; Sundstrom, J. 1977: 124), and some of them regularly crossed over and camped on the lands of Wind Cave National Park (McAdam 1973:6). In time, permanent tourist attractions were established in the Hills that invited Lakota participation and that provided facilities for them to camp over the entire summer (DeMallie 1984:63-64; Born 1994; Larner 2002:234-272). Following trends established elsewhere in the Hills, Wind Cave

National Park even supported a weeklong Indian encampment of its own in the summers of 1937 and 1938 (Freeland 1937). As reported by Martha Geores (1990:101-102), local tourist boosters made major efforts during the 1950s to capitalize on the region's tribal connections and to involve local tribes in tourist attractions.

Whether Lakotas and Cheyennes entered the Hills for brief or extended seasonal stays, it is clear that they continued to retain a visible presence there. Badger Clark (1983:70-71) described the co-mingling of Indians, local ranchers, and wealthy Easterners as a typical sight on the streets of Hot Springs in the days when its spas were at the height of their popularity in the 1890s. Indeed, some Lakotas spent their entire summer at campsites in Hot Springs (Bingham 1973:6). Robert Casey (1949:292) described their ubiquitous presence in other Hills' communities as well. Many other sources document the recurring presence of Lakotas in the Black Hills during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Jones 1904:126; Meekel 1932; Utley 1963:26; Eastern Custer County Historical Society, 1967-70:727; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:72, 261, 292, 418, 505, 506, 579, 594, 700, 727, 732, 760; Brown Thunder 1971; Bingham 1973:3-4, 6-7; Petty 1973:23; Williams, B. 1973:16-17; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:12, 14, 24, 33, 72, 213, 262, 264; Sundstrom, J. 1977:293-294, 317, 334; Clark, B. 1983:12-13, 15; Lewis, L 1980:135-136). These sources mention Lakotas visiting their white friends in the area, camping and carrying out subsistence activities, trading with white merchants and farmers, working on local ranches, and freighting supplies to towns in the Hills.

By the 1930s, it becomes clear that the Black Hills had become, once again, an important part of some Lakotas' annual subsistence cycle; they remained a critical part of their *de facto* territorial range, even though, in the eyes of the federal government, they no longer held title to them. Unquestionably, the Lakotas were now entering the Hills on different terms and under a very different set of circumstances, but the fact remains that part of their livelihood was drawn from their summer activities in the Hills, which also included jobs in various programs of the federally-run Works Project Administration, work as waitresses at Sylvan Lodge, and employment as practical nurses in the hospitals of Hot Springs (Brown Thunder 1971; Petty 1973:25; Lewis, L. 1980:135-136; Sundstrom, J. 1994:102). They also shopped and traded in the Hills, especially at Hot Springs and Rapid City, both of which have long served as important off-reservation commercial centers for people from the Pine Ridge Reservation. The Lakotas' history of employment and commerce in the Hills, coupled with their visits to the area for a wide range of traditional subsistence and religious purposes, was a significant part of their lives well into the 1960s. It is important to emphasize that even while their legal claims to the Black Hills were stalled in government offices and federal courts during these years, the Lakotas and their Cheyenne friends never completely abandoned their economic and cultural ties to the region.

Starting in the 1970s, the Lakotas attempted in varying ways and degrees to reestablish a relationship to the Black Hills on their own terms. Beginning with the takeover at Mount Rushmore in 1970 to the Yellow Thunder Camp on National Forest Service Land in 1981, some Lakotas used these occupations as a tactic for repossessing lands to which they believed they still held title under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Wind Cave National Park was also one of the sites of a politically motivated takeover in 1981. By the time the Supreme Court reached a decision in 1980 validating Lakota treaty rights to the Hills and offering a cash settlement for their illegal seizure, most Lakotas were no longer interested in taking monetary compensation for the Hills. Instead, as will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter, they were uniformly in favor of seeking congressional action to bring about a return of public lands in the Black Hills. Even today, the defining character of the Lakotas' political posture towards the Hills is to seek the repatriation of federal lands, and in the meantime, to protect and open access to these lands for the conduct of religious observances and other traditional activities (New Holy 1998). As

Lakota political efforts to regain sovereignty over sections of the Black Hills continue to play out in Congress, the courts, and the media, the area is still used for various practical and spiritual purposes.

Less well publicized, but equally significant, are the growing numbers of Lakota people who returned to the Hills after World War II as full time residents. Again, their presence has increased substantially in towns like Hot Springs, Custer, Spearfish, and Rapid City where many of them hold jobs in the public and private sector. Census figures for 2000 show that that over six percent of the residents in Fall River and three percent of those in Custer County are American Indian, most of whom probably identify themselves as Lakota (U.S. Census 2000, Population Profiles, South Dakota: Fall River, Pennington and Custer counties). These are small numbers to be sure, but they indicate, nevertheless, that Lakotas make up the Hills' citizenry and represent the largest ethnic population in the region besides people of European American ancestry.

Today, areas of the Hills, especially around Rapid City and Hot Springs, remain important commercial centers for Lakotas from neighboring reservations. These and other regions of the Hills are locations for leisure travel among the Lakotas and for the field trips of their local school districts. Wind Cave National Park is one of the sites where school districts from the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations regularly bring their students on field trips and outings (Terry 1999, Personal Communication; Albers and Kittelson 2002). Again, even though the conditions under which and the manner in which the Lakotas and Cheyennes use the Black Hills are very different from what they were before 1877, the fact remains that the Hills are still a place they live and visit. As such, they remain a vital part of their modern adaptive strategies and survival.

II. EUROPEAN AMERICAN RELATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

During the first century of their presence in and around the Black Hills, European Americans adapted themselves to the region in much the same way as the tribal nations in whose territories they lived. As more white Americans settled in or traveled through the region, the federal government stepped in and attempted to assert its power over the land through treaty-making, military containment, and finally, the dispossession of tribal peoples from their homelands. In the process, peoples from cultures with very different understandings of land tenure came into conflict. In this battle, the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho peoples lost much of their territory, including their beloved Black Hills. The loss came about not only through their physical removal from their homelands, but also through the imposition of a very different way of relating to and thinking about these lands. When Americans first arrived in the Hills, they quickly imposed their own notions of ownership, even though they had no legal right to do so. After the Black Hills Agreement of 1877, the area was rapidly transformed through new patterns of production and property relationship. Yet, there was also a stunning, albeit unintentional continuity in land-use strategies in the Black Hills. Much of the Hills and its surrounding grasslands remained a "commons" with multiple users. Instead of being organized through networks of kinship, the commons was under the management of government agencies such as the Bureau of Land Management, the National Forest Service, and the National Park Service (Geores 1990). Initially, laws of discovery and usufruct rights, which systematically excluded the region's indigenous inhabitants, determined much of the access to this commons. Later, it was regulated by the federal government which determined how the land would be put to use and who would be its benefactors. At different times in the twentieth century, various American users of the Black Hills have contested federal regulations governing the commons (Geores 1990). This contestation, however, has continued against a backdrop where the ownership of the Black Hills remains a site of struggle between the newcomers and their original tribal owners.

A. Trade and Trapping Patterns

The documented presence of traders and trappers of European ancestry living in the Black Hills extends as far back as the first decade of the nineteenth century, although it is probable that some were coming here over extended periods in the eighteenth century as well. The earliest Europeans in the area were probably from Spanish settlements in the Southwest, coming to the area as itinerant traders. The traders and trappers who stayed for longer periods of time were French in ancestry, and they probably began to settle in the area at the end of the eighteenth century. Their occupation of the region was established by usufruct rights, usually gained by entering into marriages or adoptive kin relations with the tribes on whose lands these men worked and traveled. Over time, some of the men remained in the region and formed large families. Along the Missouri, Platte, and White rivers, the traders and their mixed-ancestry families formed permanent communities around their trading posts and places of business. Attached to these posts were employees, trappers, and hunters who also married into local tribes. These men, their families, and the tribal people who followed them led a more mobile life, temporarily traveling away from the posts to hunt and sometimes winter at far-removed locations where fur-bearing animals were abundant. Their patterns of life often mirrored those of the tribes with whom they lived. As Susan Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner (1988:68) described the bands of trappers:

> Most of the trappers married Indian women and had large families. They went out in the wildest places where the animals were to be caught along timbered creeks. These white men lived in tents and adapted themselves to Indian ways. A winter camp was generally made in the timber some place; a few families would go in together for protection.

Over time, the independent trappers and their mixed ancestry families became more prevalent in the region, and many of them probably traveled and camped in the Black Hills on their hunting and trapping excursions. Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:312) describes one of these groups, although it is not clear whether he is describing the Black Hills proper or the Laramie Range here.

> The reader may possibly recollect that when I joined the Indian village, beyond the Black Hills, I found that a few families were absent, having declined to pass the mountains along with the rest. The Indians in Bisonette's camp consisted of these very families, and many of them came to me that evening to inquire after their relatives and friends. They were not a little mortified to learn that while they, from their own timidity and indolence, were almost in a starving condition, the rest of the village had provided their lodges for the next season, laid in a great stock of provisions, and were living in abundance.

Little about the life of these family-based trappers remains, but clearly by the 1840s, they along with the traders who employed them became a growing part of the local landscape.

Many of the trappers, however, appear to have lived a more solitary existence. Traveling alone or with a companion, they spent many months of the year in the remotest recesses of local mountains, trapping beaver and other fur-bearing animals. Susan Bettelyoun (1988) gives a vivid description of her father's early years as a beaver trapper working the streams on the northern side of the Hills, and Francis Parkman (in Feltskog 1969:258-269) offered interesting accounts of many of the lone trappers who plied their trade in the region and traded their peltries at Fort Laramie each year. Again, even though we know some of the names of these trader trappers, such as Jon Vallé who traded with Cheyennes at the foot of the Black Hills (probably along the lower reaches of French Creek) in the first decade of the nineteenth century, we know very little

about their life and travels in the Hills. Much more information, however, is available on the fur companies and commercial systems they worked under (Wishart 1979:41-114).

Another variety of trappers in the area was associated with the highly mobile and independent brigades known popularly as the "Mountain Men." One of these was Jedediah Smith's American Fur Company party, who entered and crossed the Hills in 1823 at the Buffalo Gap and possibly over lands that now make up Wind Cave National Park (Clyman in Camp 1960). These men typically entered a region for a few weeks, trapped its supplies of beaver until they were depleted, and then moved onto another location (Wishart 1979:115-204). Farther west in the Rocky Mountains this was the dominant pattern of trapping, but it had little staying power in the region of the Black Hills. Why this is so is unknown. There certainly were streams still rich in beaver in the mid-nineteenth century, and in later years too, but it was probably too dangerous for such outfits to remain in Lakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho country for any extended period.

After the 1860s, military scouts, soldiers, freighters, and miners married into Indian families. Some of these men established homes with their Indian wives in the Black Hills, and in adjoining areas during the 1870s. Indeed, there was a small community of these men and their Lakota wives and families living at Hot Springs in the 1880s. Very little has been written on these families or what happened to them in later years. What available writings reveal is that some of these men adapted themselves to a way of life that remained closely tied to the tribal communities from which their wives came, while others lived apart with their descendants becoming more closely aligned with and integrated into the region's white communities.

B. The Extractive Economies of Gold and Grass

"Gold and Grass" comes from the title of a book about pioneer settlement in the Black Hills, which the author, Paul Friggens (1983:59), took from a quote attributed to the scout California Joe, who traveled with Walter Jenney's expeditionary party in 1875. First, the gold brought the prospectors and then, the grass brought the cattlemen, both of whom developed patterns of adaptation and systems of land use strikingly different from the tribal nations who had occupied the region for thousands of years. Unlike the tribal nations, and even the European American trappers and traders before them, who accessed the land in common as a function of their kinship and friendship alliances, the new settlers imposed a way of relating to the land that was based on notions of exclusive use and private property. The land and all of the resources that it contained were commodities, which could be held by individuals or groups who possessed exclusive rights to use, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of what they owned.

1. Relations to the Land

In the early years of European American settlement, the new arrivals established their ownership of the land and its resources through extralegal means. In the eyes of the government, they were squatters until the land was surveyed and deeds conveyed through the fee patenting system. Although there was some degree of order to the allocation of lands in the eastern regions of the United States under the Land Ordinance Act of 1785, there was little the government was able to do to enforce its land policies in the west. Battles ensued in Congress between politicians from the east and those from the west over the rights of squatters. The prosquatter faction achieved victory through the passage of a preemption act in 1841, under which squatters were given prior right to purchase the lands on which they had made improvements when the government offered them for sale (White, R. 1991:137-140). The lands of the Black Hills were no

different: newcomers established their access rights informally through "rights of discovery" or "rights of possession" without regard to federal laws and regulations. Edwin Curley's early guidebook (1877:113-128) to the Black Hills provides step-by-step instructions for asserting pre-emption rights to mines and other kinds of land in the area.

Under the terms of the 1872 Mining Act, all lands in the public domain of the United States were open to oil drilling and mineral mining without any payment of royalties -- a law that still applies unchanged today (Geores 1990:5). Miners "staked" their claims and quickly formed mining associations among themselves to record and keep track of lands they prospected and mined (Parker 1966:61-62, 92-94). Much has been written about the democratic ways in which these associations operated, and how the miners governed themselves (Parker 1966:60-63, 83, 94; Schell 1961:149-150). Certainly most of the early settlements during the years of the mining boom were built on the ideals of independence and democratic cooperation, but it is clear that this pattern was soon eroded when mining claims and interests were turned over to investment bankers and speculators (Lamar 1996:150-177).

Very quickly, much of the area in the Black Hills' interiors, including portions of the land where Wind Cave National Park is now located, was staked and claimed. In a short time, after the placer deposits were exhausted, the claims were abandoned or purchased by speculators. The speculators, who operated independently or by forming stock-bearing companies, bought up investments all over the Hills. Probably less than a decade after the discovery of gold, much of the mineral-rich section of the Hills was in a small number of private hands or holding companies (Parker 1966:196-198). Although some proved to be very profitable, for example, the claims that led to the hardrock mining of gold by the Homestake Mining Company at Lead, most ended up being worthless because the areas were too remote and costly to mine (Tallent 1899:401-403). The South Dakota Mining Company owned the claims over much of the area where Wind Cave now sits, but these were taken over by the federal government in 1901 when ownership rights to the land became embroiled in controversy.

The lands settled for ranching and farming followed different systems of use and ownership. The small-scale operators took over the areas of land they lived and worked on as "squatters." Until these lands were deeded as homesteads in the 1890s, their occupation and use was managed informally through the unwritten agreements and mutual respect governing first rights of occupancy. Judging by the stories of early land transactions in the Buffalo Gap and Hot Springs area, local settlers casually traded their ranch holdings and sold parcels of land with an exchange of cash or goods and a handshake (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 101; Clark, B. 1983:72). Once the government took control over the Hills in 1877 and started the process of surveying the land, which began in 1892, squatters' rights in the area were generally recognized and deeded under the Homestead Act of 1862. Land not "proved up" for a homestead remained part of the public domain or was divided into quarter sections and made available to a new generation of homesteaders, known as the "honyockers," who came to the area primarily to farm from 1889 until the early decades of the twentieth century. Many of these homesteads appear to have been situated outside the Hogback, along the Cheyenne River and its tributaries, on lands better suited to farming (Stewart 1967-70:71; Friggens 1983:87-89). However, some of them were established on some of the more rugged and marginal lands that would later become part of Wind Cave National Park (Western History Research 1992:71).

Before the land was surveyed, subdivided, and homesteaded, there was also a period when there was free access to the prairies surrounding the Black Hills and the timbers, meadows, and grasslands inside the Hogback. Recognizing that profits could be made from raising cattle without any investment in the lands that fed them, local entrepreneurs quickly developed com-

panies to acquire the capital to buy stock, attracting investors from as far away as Texas and England. In the years between 1877 and 1886, hundreds of thousands of cattle ran loose on lands in and around Hills (Lee and Williams 1964:122-124; Friggens 1983:64), including much of the area within the present-day boundaries of Wind Cave National Park. The open range was organized and governed by an ingenious system known as the roundup. According to Paul Friggens (1983:64):

> Each year, the different outfits divided the vast range country into districts or zones, with 'reps' or representatives in charge, who proceeded to 'work' the great herds on a set schedule of about six weeks. Early each spring, the cattlemen dispatched their cowboys and "reps" to round up the drifting herds, assess winter losses and brand the calves. In the fall or beef roundup, the cattle were again gathered, calves weaned, steers and old cows sorted out and trailed to the closest shipping point.

In allocating their grazing rights, the ranchers of the southern Hills appear to have escaped some of the battles that embroiled the large cattle outfits and small-scale operators in the range wars of neighboring Wyoming (Lee and Williams 1964:124-126; White, R. 1991:344-346). The reason for this is unknown, but it can be hypothesized that these two groups may not have stood in competition. The small operators appear to have owned some of the less desirable ranges closer to the base of the Hills and inside the Hogback along the Fall River and Beaver, Highland and Lame Johnny creeks.[4] While these areas were optimal for maintaining small herds because of their sheltered grazing lands and access to water, they were probably not as well-suited for the large, concentrated enterprises cattlemen were running on the open prairies that hugged the South Fork of the Cheyenne River. Interestingly, it was these very conditions that allowed some of the small-scale Black Hills ranchers to sustain much lower losses during the disastrous winter of 1886-1887 (Schell 1961:245).

Generally speaking, there appears to have been little competition and fighting among those with local range and water rights in the area of Wind Cave National Park, except, of course, for the now infamous McDonald-Stabler feud. But this was not the only squabble that led to litigious action over land and water. There were other contested claims, which, interestingly, also involved members of the Stabler family. According to Fannie McAdam (1973:29-33), Charles Valentine had a romantic interlude with Stabler's daughter, Catherine, who sued him in court for breach of promise and won his interest in the Valentine Ranch. In 1889, she went to New York and married another man, Charles F. Ottman, who returned with her to run the ranch, which she worked while still serving as a guide at Wind Cave (Bohi 1962:392n.32). The couple sold the Valentine Ranch and moved to a ranch west of the park. In later years, a fight broke out with her brother over water rights. Apparently, her mother and brother, after losing their claim to property at Wind Cave, settled on a ranch near Shirttail Canyon, where spring water was piped to Catherine's ranch. No compensation was paid for the use of this water, so her brother, Charles, took her to court and won a seven-hundred dollar settlement. After giving up her own ranch, she stayed on her mother and brother's ranch and continued to guide at Wind Cave until 1913, when she left the area permanently to resettle in New York (Bohi 1962:392; McAdam 1973:33). "Kate," as Catherine was commonly called, was a colorful and independent personality, who packed sidearms and purportedly, had numerous romantic liaisons with local men. From McAdam's stories (1973:29-33) of her, she may very well have been the southern Hills' version of Calamity Jane.

[ß]It was less desirable not because of the quality of grasses but because of the lack of available open and contiguous space.

Land inside the Hogback in the neighborhood of Wind Cave National Park and Hot Springs, except for tracts along some of the continuously flowing streams, appears to have been used most profitably for grazing cattle, horses and farther west, sheep. In fact, most of the patent files for lands inside park boundaries indicate that much of the area was used primarily for grazing (Bohi 1962:421, 426, 428, 434, 440; McAdam 1973:8; Western History Research 1992:81, see also Abstracts of Patent Claim files contained in this report). Small parcels, averaging 18.9 acres, were cultivated for grains, root crops, kitchen gardens, and even orchards (McAdam 1973:8; Western History Research 1992:81, 88, Abstracts). This was also a location where settlers secured timber for fuel and shelter (illegally after 1903), raised kitchen stock (poultry and hogs), and engaged in a wide variety of other subsistence activities including fishing, hunting, and the collection of wild plant foods. These activities most certainly sustained them when the markets for "cash" crops and stock were low (Bohi 1962:366, 434, 462; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 72, 283, 419; McAdam 1973:8-9; Smith 1973:25; Williams 1973:3, 6, 20, 26; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:, 36, 46, 128, 176, 178, 204, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 166, 189, 227, 261, 298, 209, 364, 365, 379, 1994:29-34, 75; Western History Research 1992: Abstracts).

Another industry that survived through an extralegal system of land use was the timber business. In areas north of Wind Cave in what is now Custer State Park, small operators built sawmills and took the logs freely. Like the "free" grasslands the cattlemen used, there was open access to the forests, and loggers simply appropriated the timber they transformed into usable lumber (Tallent 1899:411; Lindsay 1967-1970:899-900; Geores 1990:38-39). Open access, however, was curtailed after 1897 when the Black Hills Forest Reserve was established. After this date, the government began to assert its proprietary interests in the area. It did so not only by testing the legitimacy of mining and homestead claims before fee patents were transferred to the owners, but also by restricting future access to lands without homestead, mining, or township titles. In future decades, access to forest lands for mineral extraction, timber cutting, and stock grazing was regulated through leases at minimal or zero cost (Geores 1990:42-43, 46, 48).

National Park Service lands, except for properties with preexisting patents, also became restricted. The original 10, 522.17 acres set aside in 1903 were limited to specified uses. In its early years of operation, Wind Cave park lands were seamlessly connected to local homesteads; they were not cordoned off, and they continued to be used as an open range until 1909, when permits were issued for cattle grazing (Bohi 1962:421-422, 428). It was not until much later that further limits would be placed on the park's land use, restricting activity largely to camping, hiking, and sightseeing. During the twentieth century, more acreage adjacent to the park was set aside to establish a game preserve, originally under the jurisdiction of the Department of Agriculture, to accommodate a herd of bison. In later years, additional land in the area would come under NPS stewardship, including the game preserve and large sections of privately owned land most of which was reconveyed to the federal government in the 1930s (Western History Research 1992:47, 100, 101, 103, 105).

As the legal custodian of the largest body of land inside the Black Hills' Hogback, the federal government was authorized to determine the uses to which this property would be put. In order to do so, however, it was legally obligated to recognize the preexisting rights of the squatters with homesites, mining claims, and timber or grazing interests. In the early years of its management, roughly 1877 to 1920, the government often lacked the means or the will to police much of the public property under its jurisdiction (Geores 1990:57). Many people continued to squat illegally on forest land for example, and one way the government attempted to drive them off was to forbid any fencing on public lands, a prohibition that made it impossible for these homesteaders to protect their crops and stock. In 1906, however, many of the homesteaders were able to acquire patents on their land when the Forest Homestead Act was passed (Ibid:60-61). It

would take many more years for the federal government, under the auspices of the U.S. Forest Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the National Park Service to fully enforce many of their regulations on the use of public lands, for recreation or privately-run grazing, mining, and logging operations (White, R. 1991:147-150). Initially, at least, the federal government's management and regulatory role evolved with little incident (Geores 1990:29-79).

When more land was reconveyed to the federal government and greater restrictions were placed on its use, the government agencies that managed the land had to contend with unlawful forms of usage, including the unauthorized taking of timber, illegal grazing, and poaching. In the decade after Wind Cave National Park was established, park superintendents complained about the unlawful taking of timber in their annual reports (WCNP Annual Reports, December 22, 1913; February 20, 1914; Bohi 1962:434), and as late as 1953, they were still reporting problems with poachers (Bohi 1962:462). It would take some years for local residents to adjust to the shift from a free and open use of public lands to more restricted patterns of access. Despite widely scattered instances of unlawful takings, Martha Geores (1990:78) argues that there was a low level of conflict between different user groups as these changes were enacted. She attributes this to the fact that local communities with clearly defined rights and boundaries managed resource uses in the area. Although the Park Service had to contend with some local resistance as the status of its lands changed over time, it never had to face some of the challenges of its sister agency, the Forest Service. Over the years, this agency has had to balance the interests of multiple user groups, from the area's original mining, logging, and ranching interests to the newer and growing ranks of recreationists and tourists.

The only major conflict that appears to have engulfed Wind Cave National Park surrounded the disposition of the Custer Recreational Development Area. While the state of South Dakota and business groups in Custer and Rapid City lobbied to have this land transferred to Custer State Park, the citizens of Hot Springs staunchly opposed this move and advocated its inclusion in the national park that served their economic interests. Once again, this dispute illustrates the park's twofold loyalties -- one to the county it serves politically, Custer, and two to the county it supports economically, Fall River. In 1946, the matter was settled and the land of the recreational development area was divided between the two parks. The park's properties grew from nearly twelve thousand acres to a little over twenty-eight thousand acres at this time (Long 1992:54).

Most of the land in the Black Hills' interiors served as a public commons in the early years of its occupation by the United States, much as it had when tribal nations controlled the area. The major difference was that once the federal government took control of the area, it was no longer managed through productive arrangements and alliance formations organized around kinship. Instead, access was regulated through the preemptive powers of the state, in this case the United States, which conceded rights either by transferring title to individual land and claim holders in the form of private property or else by bestowing access privileges through limited leases and/ or restricted forms of usage. People of many different European ethnic heritages and economic interests came to rely on the mineral, timber, water, and grass resources of the Black Hills in its early years, and while some held private title to land inside the boundaries of forest and park service lands, they gained access to much more of it from the leases the government let. Publicly owned park lands, while open to everyone, were restricted in their use from the outset and confined to limited grazing leases and recreational pursuits. Until they were reconveyed to the federal government, private lands remaining within park borders continued to be used for many of the same domestic and small-scale agricultural functions as U.S. Forest Service lands. The pattern of small tracts of private property situated amidst larger federal land reserves was a very common pattern throughout the western United States, and one that was markedly different from what prevailed in areas east of the Mississippi River.

2. Ranch Life

Inside the Hogback, including areas in and around what is now Wind Cave National Park, local ranching families followed mixed economic strategies, but their main focus was raising stock and securing the forage to feed them. Ranchers pastured their cattle and horses on their own lands, but these holdings were often small. Therefore, many needed to run their animals on the area's open ranges, which included lands over much of the area that is now Wind Cave National Park (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 41, 57; McAdam 1973:2-3; Sundstrom, J. 1977:363, 364; Long 1992:6-8). Even after free access to public ranges was terminated, Wind Cave National Park continued to be a site where local ranchers ran their livestock, only now they had to pay a fee to do so (Bohi 1962:462). When public lands were not available for these purposes, families appear to have devised other strategies to acquire sufficient acreage to make their agricultural enterprises profitable (Western History Research 1992:101).

For many families in the late nineteenth century, cattle and horses were the stock they raised as commodities for sale and not a main source of their own food and transportation. Not uncommonly, early ranch families hunted, fished, and trapped for their meat in order not to deplete their cash stock. When wild game was still plentiful in the late nineteenth century, it was used to supplement other sources of food. Some of the descendants of early settlers recall eating the pronghorn, deer, bighorn, and rabbits that ranged over the prairies and timber as well as the ducks and geese that inhabited local streams (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:402, 419; Fall River County Historical Society 1976; 176, 232, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103, 261). A number of accounts tell of settlers hunting in the area near Wind Cave, and indeed, many of the stories of the cave's "discovery," presented in Chapter Six, involve ranchers and cowboys hunting in the area.

Local ranch families regularly gathered berries and other wild plant foods on the public lands adjoining their ranches, and as children, they often picked them to earn money by selling them at Buffalo Gap, Custer, or Hot Springs (Bohi 1962:369; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583, 585; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:227, 365). The berries were dried and canned and made into jams and jellies too (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 402, 425, 583, 585; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:119, 243; Sundstrom, J. 1977:277, 365, 379). Families also used government owned and regulated lands to procure the wood they needed for shelter and fuel, and they regularly made trips into the higher elevation areas to log the timber they needed for these purposes (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:507). Some continued to do so illegally on the lands of Wind Cave National Park (Bohi 1962:434).

Inside the Hogback of the southern Hills were small valleys with fresh water, timber for fuel, and rich alluvial soils for gardening. There were also open grasslands with good forage to run cattle. In and outside park properties, along Highland Creek, Beaver Creek, and the Fall River, many pioneer families raised cattle for the market but kept kitchen stock for domestic use. Milk cows provided them with the means to make cream, butter, and cheese, chickens for eggs and meat, and pigs for bacon and lard (Bohi 1962:391; Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:283; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 178, 204, 232). A quick survey of the abstracts from the Patent Case Files assembled in the report of Western History Research (1992) reveals the presence of this stock, as for example, in the listing of structures for housing chickens, keeping milk, and smoking pork (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts for Patents-1433,1492, 1944, 2666, 2952, 3242, 3356, 3588, 3770, 173421, 206218, 244675, 544749, 559966, 614676, 658673, 703938, 727792, 749867, 867857, 954365).

Many of the families in the area also maintained vegetable gardens and orchards on irrigable lands near springs or continuously flowing rivers and streams, and this was true at Wind Cave National Park as well (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:40, 72, 283; Lindsay 1967-70:899; Williams 1973:3, 6; McAdam 1973:8; Smith 1973:25, 30, 35;Fall River County Historical Society 1976:29, 36, 46, 128, 178, 204, 232; Sundstrom, J. 1977:189, 309, 364, 1994:27, 62; Western History Research 1992:88, Abstracts for Patents-1433, 1490, 1492, 1944, 2952, 85744, 244675, 614676, 703938, 749867). Some families even transplanted wild berry bushes to their own properties for easy access to the fruit and to use as windbreaks (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:283). They also grew alfalfa and other domestic grasses, and they harvested wild grasses to feed their animals over the winter months (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:*et. seq*; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:*et seq.*, and Sundstrom, J. 1977: *et seq.;* Western History Research 1992:Abstracts for Patents- 2296, 2354, 2952, 3356, 173421, 244675, 614676, 700949, 703938, 749867, 867857, 954365). As Freda Sanson (in Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:43) aptly puts it in describing life on her father's ranch, which is located on park borders, " grass is our living."

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, ranch life was often hard and unpredictable. In some years, the members of small ranch families needed to hire themselves out as laborers. They worked on the bigger cattle operations in the area, in freighting jobs, in construction, in domestic service, and in employment at the park in order to make ends meet (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:55, *et. seq*). During the early years of its existence, most of the workers and officials at Wind Cave National Park were local settlers, who supplemented their income by taking jobs at the park (Bohi 1962:423, 427, 429, 430). In fact, before the 1930s, park budgets were so meager that non-local workers ended up being quartered in the house of the park's superintendent (Bohi 1962:427). No matter how the park's settlers carved out a living for themselves, much of it remained dependent, directly or indirectly, on their use of public lands. In certain respects, this use was not strikingly different from the ways in which native peoples lived off the land in the Black Hills, relying on them to hunt, collect berries, edible forbs, and medicinal herbs, cut timber for fuel and shelter, graze horses, and possibly even plant small gardens.

In contrast to the tribal nations of earlier times, who used the entire Hills as a public commons, European Americans settlers squatted on, homesteaded, and eventually turned significant portions of the Black Hills into a form of private property. Much of the privatization took place along the Race Track. A much smaller portion of the high elevation interiors remained under private ownership. At Wind Cave National Park, the heaviest occupation and privatization of the land took place in the well-watered valleys or at locations along the Race Track, and much of it took place later in the settlement history of the Black Hills. Most of the northeastern region of the park was not settled until after the 1890s, while the southwestern sector was occupied a decade earlier. In fact, even after the original boundaries of the park were established in 1903, lands were still being settled and patented along the Race Track (Western History Research 1992:68-71). Some of this land continued to be homesteaded until the 1930s, when it was reconveyed to the federal government to become part of the park's northeastern extension (Western History Research 1992:105).

Over the years, the lands inside park boundaries were settled and worked by individuals and families of different backgrounds and means. According to the analysis provided by Western History Research (1992:66-67), some of the more affluent individuals who occupied the area were able to purchase their homesteads with cash. Land patents secured through cash entries were typically associated with better property, located in the flat bottomlands near springs and continuously flowing streams. These lands were also usually occupied and patented at earlier dates.

Most of the more rugged and less well-watered properties were "proved up" later, after the land was developed through investments of labor rather than cash.

Another indication of differences in the relative wealth of settlers was the form and size of their dwellings. These included roughly hewn, one room log cabins and also frame houses with stone basements and multiple rooms; the houses ranged from less than two hundred to over one-thousand square feet. Although some of this variation reflected family size, as suggested by the author of the Western History Research report (1992:87), it is equally clear that the dwelling spaces of comparably sized families differed in fairly significant ways (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts from Patent Case Files). Additionally, the nature and complexity of the kinds of structures on patented lands and the values of the properties clearly reflected differences in wealth as well. Some patents were associated with an elaborate array of structures including corrals, horse barns, ice houses, root cellars, smoking houses, chicken quarters, and granaries valued at well over a thousand dollars. Others, however, contained only modest improvements, amounting to little more than a dwelling, cattle shelter, and fencing with appraisals less than four hundred dollars (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts of Patent Case Files).

Early homesteaders also differed in their family status. A good portion (42%) of the settlers were single, men as well as women, or widows and widowers when they patented their lands, and most of them were in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties when they did so. (Western History Research 1992:77, 79). Many others were members of nuclear families, with an average family size of 3.38 persons (Western History Research 1992:79), but there is also evidence for the presence of extended families in which in-laws, brothers, father/sons, and other family combinations took up homesteads on contiguous or nearby properties (Western History Research 1992:73). This was certainly the case in the land-holding patterns of the Stablers and McDonalds. In fact, some of the extended families in the area appear to have been among the most successful in their agricultural endeavors (Western History Research 1992:101). This was probably due not only to the fact that they shared larger and more varied land holdings, but also that they were able to mobilize a larger labor force and thereby diversify their work efforts. Again, like the tribal nations who occupied the area before them, extended family arrangements were highly adaptive in pursuing a living through mixed economic strategies.

Besides arrangements where extended families occupied contiguous properties, there is also evidence of more dispersed living and land patterns. A quick look at the list of patentees on Wind Cave National Park lands reveals that they carry many of the same family names as people who settled outside park boundaries, closer to the towns of Buffalo Gap or Hot Springs. Ball, Streeter, Sanson, and Tanner are some of the surnames that appear on the patent lists for the park and in the family histories compiled by local historical societies (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70; Fall River County Historical Society 1976; Sundstrom, J. 1977). In some cases, as with the Sanson family, the relationships appear to have been generational ones. Thus, Adolph Sanson, who held patents on lands at Wind Cave National Park, was the son of August Sanson, who owned a large ranch on the southeastern border of the park. In this case, and probably others too, it was the children of the first generation settlers who took up homesteads on park properties. This is suggested by the ages and dates when some of them filed their patents (Western History Research 1992: Abstracts of Patent Case Files).

Whether this is the case or not, it is obvious that many of the people in the Wind Cave area were tied to the communities of Pringle, Hot Springs, and Buffalo Gap through close-knit webs of kinship and marriage. It is equally clear from the family narratives in county and town histories that local settlers frequently visited one another and joined together in supporting various kinds of recreational, educational, and religious activity. School houses, which are indicated on GLO

maps, were located on park properties (Western History Research 1992). Local settlers had many sources of entertainment in the late nineteenth century: they held their own dances with fiddle and cord players and organized a variety of social clubs and church functions (Clark, B. 1983:27-32; Stewart 1967-1970:70-72; Sundstrom, J. 1977:103- 104, 1994:39; Fall River County Historical Society 1976:5, 127, 232). In addition, they participated in the annual summer fairs, rodeos, or celebrations of nearby towns. Buffalo Gap had an annual fair; Custer ran its Gold Discovery Days; and Hot Springs held a water carnival and hosted a Chautauqua every year (Stewart 1967-70:2-3; McAdam 1973:25; Petty 1973:22; Sundstrom, J. 1994:124).

C. The Rise of Federal Power and Tourism

The Great Depression represented an important turning point in the history of the Black Hills and the western United States more generally. It was a time when the federal government began to play an ever-growing role in the management of its land, timber, and mineral resources and in enforcing regulations on the private use of such properties. After World War II, it is well-recognized that the federal government appropriated to itself a much greater presence and power in the West, and in the process, abrogated many of the policies which gave local users considerable access to federal lands and input on their management (Geores 1990:80-81; White, R. 1991:496-534). As the federal government assumed more power over the regulation of its traditional mining, lumbering, and grazing users, new interests were emerging from the ranks of recreationists and tourists, many of whom came from urban areas outside the Black Hills. Once seen as a resource colony of the nation's cities, the source of the extractive resources on which its industries were built, the Black Hills and the greater West more generally started to become a "playground" for much of the American travel and leisure business. In the last decades of the twentieth century, the old users and the new users came into increasing conflict with one another. The old users wanted to maintain their "cheap" and unrestricted access to public lands in the Black Hills, while the new users wanted these protected for their recreational and sightseeing pursuits. Supported by conservationists and environmentalists, the new users became highly vocal in their criticisms of the federal government for not moving far enough and fast enough to preserve the nation's public resources for spectatorship and leisure activity. They put increasing pressure on the government and its agencies to restrict users whose operations conflicted with their own interests (Geores 1990:4-5). The costs and restrictions on grazing leases were strongly felt and opposed by the old users and small operators whose ranching enterprises often functioned with only small profit margins (Eastern Custer County Historical Society 1967-70:41). Today, this divide stands at the forefront of ongoing battles over America's public lands, and it will remain so as long as the economies in the American West shift away from their reliance on extractive industries towards a new dependency on the commerce of leisure, travel, and recreation (White, R. 1991:519, 530).

1. The Commons and Its Competing User Groups

The tensions created by the changing face of the groups who use public lands has been felt most strongly by land management agencies under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. The National Park Service largely escaped this conflict because its properties already held a special restrictive status that prohibited most extractive uses, other than fishing, berry picking, and limited grazing. From the beginning, they were marked as sanctuaries, and as Martha Geores (1990:6) points out, they have been relatively insulated from the battles that have plagued other federal land-managing agencies. Still, they have not been untouched by the changes taking place in the economies of the "New West" and the new user groups coming to the nation's parks. In this changing economy, the National Park Service has

played a critical role as the public owner of many of the major sites and attractions around which a large part of the modern tourist economy is being built. The Black Hills are no exception in this regard; its major attraction, Mount Rushmore, is under National Park Service management. Although Wind Cave National Park does not have the same draw and cachet as Mount Rushmore National Monument or even Devil's Tower National Monument, it still occupies a vital position in the economy of the southeastern Hills where it is located. Indeed, as argued in the last chapter, it is one of the primary reasons tourists travel south of Custer, and as a result, its existence is vital to the service-oriented businesses that support the town of Hot Springs.

Since World War II, the National Park Service has faced tensions in trying to manage its lands in accordance with its original mission while simultaneously serving the interests of its growing number of visitors. The park service has had to achieve this balance in a time when fiscal support for parks has declined and when user fees have not made up the difference. Wind Cave National Park has not had to contend with impacts that the huge numbers of tourists and recreationists bring to some of the better-known parks, such as Grand Canyon, Yellowstone, and Yosemite; it is too obscure and remote for that. But it still faces the challenges of defining its place in relation to its local neighbors. Throughout the West, communities that adjoin public lands are becoming increasingly sensitive to the impact of federal policies and actions on their economic well being. Questions about the effects of parks on the more "traditional" industries, their jobs and taxes, are often raised especially when these involve a change in the user status of lands or in the power base of local political structures. While it is evident that the survivability of many communities in the West is dependent on how well they can articulate with the contemporary tourist, leisure, and recreational industry, it is also clear that these articulations often bring unwanted changes to the cultural lifestyles of older communities. The tensions between the older generation of ranching/farming families who make a living from the land and the incoming populations who visit or take up extended forms of residency for leisure and recreation but make their livelihoods elsewhere are widespread in the American West. In this situation, very different ideas are emerging about the proper use of public lands, with the old timers generally favoring open access for traditional occupations and the newcomers supporting restricted access that keeps the land and its minerals, fauna, and flora, intact.

In recent years, the managers of public lands in the Black Hills have faced other kinds struggles too. Among the most significant, or at least well publicized, battles have involved contestations over tribal use of and access to public properties. Wind Cave National Park is part of what has probably been the most hotly contested body of public land in the United States. Since the late nineteenth century, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos have challenged the legitimacy of current ownership rights in the courts and in Congress, on the picket line, and in the mass media. Still, there is no resolution. Even though tribes have pressed hard to regain lands inside the Hills, none of their efforts have succeeded. The monetary settlement offered by the courts for the illegal taking of the Black Hills is still refused. So the ultimate status of the land remains in limbo. Barring the privileges that come with outright ownership, local tribes have increasingly pushed forward with whatever legal means are available to them to gain access to public land in order to protect sacred sites and to conduct the religious observances associated with them. In contrast to the past, when tribes were either excluded from public lands or their interests in these lands ignored, they have now become significant parties in the consultations and decisions reached over the public use of federally managed land-areas. Tribal interests often merge with environmentalists and conservationists interested in protecting the natural integrity of a place, but sometimes conflict with the tourists and recreationists who want uninterrupted access to sites for viewing, camping, hiking, and/or climbing. This certainly has been the case at other locations in the Black Hills, notably Devil's Tower National Monument and Bear Butte (Forbes-Boyte 1996, 1999; Dorst 2000).

Federal lands in the West have always operated, in varying degrees and ways, in the manner of a public commons, where ethnically different groups hold similar as well as dissimilar access rights to the commons. What has changed over the past century is the profile of the interest groups who use the nation's public lands and the impact that this has had on the regions where these lands are situated. In relation to the Black Hills and Wind Cave National Park, in particular, three different interest groups with distinct cultural agendas have become embroiled in controversies over how public lands ought to be used and regulated. These include the local communities of ranchers and townspeople whose lands adjoin park boundaries and whose own resources are impacted in negative and positive ways by the presence of a park in their locale. There are also the tourists and recreationists who desire unimpeded access to park sites and the development of accommodations for their activities, including lodgings and campsites as well as improved roads and trails for hiking, bicycling, and now snowmobiling. Added to this mix, there are many different tribal peoples who desire not only access to the land to carry on some of their traditional cultural activities, including the performance of ceremonial observances and the collection of plants and minerals for religious purposes, but also protection for the sites of sacred importance to them. Protecting these sites and the ceremonies conducted there often runs afoul of the agendas of other interest groups, whose own activities must be curtailed in one way or another in order to accommodate tribal needs (Keller and Turek 1998:177-184, 233-240; Dorst 2000). Attending to the differing cultural agendas of these various interest groups raises a number of thorny policy and regulatory questions, which are covered in the last chapter of this report.

2. Tourists and Their Cultures

One of the persisting features of the Black Hills' panorama of human use and occupation is its complexity. Over the past millennium, multiple user groups have accessed the Hills from near and distant locations. Like the tribal nations who dominated the area before 1877, European Americans developed varying relationships to the Hills. Besides the permanent year-round residents who made a living from ranching, logging, mining, and other local industries, there were those who came to the Hills for short stays but on a regular and recurring basis from proximate locations in South Dakota, Wyoming, and Nebraska. The Hills have always been a popular location for the residents of nearby communities to hunt in the fall and fish in the summer. Some of these people have cabins or second homes in the Hills, while others camp out in RVs during extended summer visits. Early on in the history of its non-Indian settlement, the Hills also became an attractive destination for people who traveled to the area from more distant locations (Clark, B. 1952b; Julin 1982; Lee 1987; Goeores 1990). As Montgomery's research (1957) from the 1950s shows, most of the long-distance tourists and recreationists came from the Midwest, but visitors from other regions of the country and indeed the world have made Wind Cave National Park part of their travel itinerary in the Hills (Long 1992). As in past, the Hills have acted like a magnet, drawing people from all points of the compass.

Modern travel is built on a quest for the extraordinary and the exotic: a search for an experience that is different from the course of everyday life (MacCannell 1976). Historically, this has been accommodated in two ways. one comes about through the purposeful manufacture of an attraction, the creation of something unique that celebrates or memorializes an idea, an event, an individual, or an entire people. Mount Rushmore is the classic example of this in the Black Hills. The other stands as some pre-existing phenomenon within the natural world, whose uniqueness is purposely managed and preserved for the public. This may include an unusual landform, a scenic vista, or a rare animal, plant, or mineral. Wind Cave represents this kind of extraordinary site or sight. In the United States, federal, state, and local governments are typically

responsible for stewarding the phenomena that represent the unique natural and human-made heritage of Americans. This is certainly the case in the Black Hills, where most of the noteworthy places are under the protection of federal or state agencies.

Areas where there are large concentrations of unusual sites have a kind of scenic or recreational capital that can be exploited to local economic advantage. Although the sites themselves are part of a collectively owned trust, they generate private economic opportunities for a wide variety of businesses that cater to tourists and recreationists. Communities in proximity to these locations benefit economically by providing services that support various travel and recreational cultures, from the automobile or camper sightseeing experience to the hiking and backpacking of today's so-called outdoor enthusiasts. At least structurally, this is not very different from how publicly held lands provided opportunities for economic development in the past. The central difference is that most travel and recreational uses do not typically require any kind of extraction that leads to the depletion of resources.

In many ways, the growth of modern travel and recreation in the Black Hills has imposed yet another kind of cultural sensibility on the area – one that is rooted in an urban experience where a peoples' relationship to the land involves a kind of passive witnessing or spectatorship. In this sensibility, an area's natural resources are not extracted and transformed as they typically are in more traditional land relations (European American and American Indian). Over the past century, National Park Service lands have been set aside and reserved to promote an attitude towards the land that has its origins in the urban experience and the urbanization of the United States. Historically, this perpspective has privileged the needs and interests of outside visitors. Insofar as "locals," both Indian and non-Indian, meet the terms of this urbanized relationship to the land, they are seen as the "visitors" to nation's national parks. The problem, however, is that many parks, including Wind Cave National Park, are situated on lands where the locals have significant cultural attachments that do not conform to a recreational or tourist model. In the case of American Indians, there are important cultural properties -- landscapes, landforms, and natural resources -- that people need to access in traditional ways in order to conduct vital religious observances and maintain their cultural heritage. This poses a challenge to the manager's of the Nation's national parks because these traditional uses require the development of management policies that depart in significant ways from those established to fit the cultural models of tourists and recreationists.

III. PERSPECTIVES ON WIND CAVE NATIONAL PARK

Where does Wind Cave National Park fit in the larger scheme of human occupation, land use, and economic adaptations to the Black Hills? There is no question that before 1877 the historical and ethnographic record on the occupancy and use of park lands is scanty, and as a result, much of what can be said about it is inferential and based on circumstantial evidence. Even though there are a number of archeological sites in the park, revealing the remains of hunting, quarrying, and settlement activity, most of these are prehistoric and have not been studied in any depth. Hopefully, on-going and future archeological and oral history research will enable us to have a better and more complete picture of what was happening on these lands before they were taken over by the National Park Service in 1903. In the meantime, there are a number of conclusions, albeit hypothetical, that can be advanced at this point.

First, and probably most importantly, the historical and ethnographic evidence points to this area being most intensively used by tribes during the winter months. In prehistoric as well as historic times, some of the lower elevation locations along the Race Track, Beaver Creek, and

Wind Cave Canyon probably served as winter campsites. There is no question that areas near the Buffalo Gap and along the Fall River were used in this way during historic times, and there is no reason to believe that other locations inside the southern Hogback were not used in this way as well. There is also good archeological evidence for this kind of use in prehistoric times, especially during the Middle Archaic. Environmentally, this area was well suited for a winter camping location. It offered all of the necessary amenities, including access to good shelter, wood, fresh water, game, and even forage for small herds of horses. The extent to which either the Lakotas or the Cheyennes and the tribal nations who came before them wintered on park property is hard to determine, but it is clear that even if bands did not actually establish their winter campsites inside park boundaries, their hunters came here on a regular and recurring basis from other locations. In the nineteenth century, some Lakotas and Cheyennes established their winter camps at the Buffalo Gap and along the Fall River, both of which are very close to the park. There are also reports of their bands wintering along the Race Track, although the precise locations of their camps are typically unspecified. Farther away but still within easy reach of the land at Wind Cave National Park were Lakota and Cheyenne winter camping sites along the Cheyenne and White rivers. Before the nineteenth century, other tribes, notably, the Arapahos, Kiowas, Plains Apaches (and Padoucas), and Ponca, occupied these sites, even groups who customarily wintered as far away as the Niobrara, Platte, and Missouri rivers were reported to come to the southern Hills in search of game at different seasons of the year. It is not difficult to infer from this information that the area in and around Wind Cave National Park would have been covered during some of these hunts.

There are a number of stories about the park and its environs, especially from the Lakotas but also the Cheyennes, that tell about important events taking place here in historic and myth times. The vast majority of these stories are set in the winter or fall, and they invariably involve hunters and hunting. Most of them speak of bison, but a few refer to deer or other large game (see also, sections Three and Four). After European Americans arrived in the area, the park also became known as a good place to hunt and trap. It is not coincidental that when Jesse and Tom Bingham came across Wind Cave, they were hunting deer. Earlier, the area on which Wind Cave National Park now sits may have served as a temporary winter camping area for trappers and their families. It is clear that many of the early white trader-trappers, their Indian wives, offspring, and other associated relatives wintered in the Black Hills because this was the prime season to take game valued for their peltries. Again, although we know little about their occupation, we can surmise that they were here because their presence is well documented for locations to the north along French, Grace Coolidge, Battle, and Rapid creeks. Generally speaking, in both tribal and European American traditions, the general area of Wind Cave National Park has been associated with hunting and large game animals.

Historically, the Wind Cave National Park area was probably a good place for tribes to camp, hunt, and collect plants en route to other locations in the Hills at other times of the year as well. During the 1870s, some Lakotas stopped at the Buffalo Gap to camp in their annual spring and fall travels between their agencies on the White River and their buffalo hunting grounds in the country of the Powder and Tongue rivers. In late spring and early summer, small groups were widely reported to camp in the Black Hills' interiors to secure their lodgepoles, and some may well have followed Beaver Creek and/or the Race Track to reach these higher elevation locations. This route was also apparently followed by the Lakotas in their spring ceremonial cycle (Looking Horse in Parlow 1983a:42-43). They certainly did so after 1877, when they traveled and camped on park properties en route to their lodgepole processing sites or to the celebration festivities they attended in Custer and Deadwood. Indeed, the Lakotas and Cheyennes who were settled on the Pine Ridge Reservation were routinely given passes during the fall and summer months to collect food plants and medicinal herbs in the Black Hills. As revealed in Chapter Eleven, the use of the

Hills for plant procurement is regularly reported in the accounts of non-Indian travelers, government agents, and local settlers, and it is also commonly mentioned in tribal oral traditions and writings.

When European Americans first came to the area, as prospectors, freighters, and merchants, they also crossed the park's lands and camped here on their way to Custer City and Deadwood. The park included two of the most highly traveled routes into the interiors for people coming overland to and from the Union Pacific Railroad stops at Sidney, Nebraska and Cheyenne, Wyoming. In later years, however, the traffic along these routes declined substantially when the focus of gold production shifted to the northern Hills and when alternative routes were created that skirted the Hills along the outer edge of the Hogback. Nevertheless, the park continued to serve as a route of travel between Custer and Buffalo Gap/Hot Springs for local residents, freighters hauling supplies, and loggers transporting timber. It was also a location where early settlers collected berries, gathered other flora for food and medicine, and harvested timber for domestic use. Indeed, the illegal taking of plant resources inside park boundaries by local residents was a serious problem well into the twentieth century.

The large quartzite quarry at Battle Mountain and even the outcroppings of purple chalcedony in Wind Cave National Park also attracted tribal nations to the area to acquire lithic material for making arrow points and implements. Much of the use of this region for mineral extraction by native populations took place in prehistoric times, and it clearly declined after the introduction of metal from European American traders. Some quarrying, however, still probably continued for sandstone used in the making of hammers and grinding stones, for gypsums applied in various kinds of manufacture and ceremonial contexts, and for clays mixed in paints (see Chapter Eleven for further details). In fact, there is one important twentieth-century record (Pilcher 1964) that identifies Wind Cave with the collection of stones used for medicinal purposes, and there is good circumstantial evidence for the continuing importance of local gypsum in ceremonial practice (see Chapters Eleven, Twelve, and Fifteen).

Certainly, the nearby thermal waters at Hot Springs were an important attraction for Native populations in prehistoric and historic times. The healing properties of these waters were well-known and brought people to the area for brief and extended stays (see Chapters Six, Fourteen, and Fifteen). Again, there are reports in European American and tribal sources of Lakotas and Cheyennes staying in this area not only in the winter but in other seasons as well. Aside from brief references to Lakotas and Cheyennes camping in this area, there are few specific details about the nature of their settlement. Indeed, we may never really know much about it given how the building of the city of Hot Springs and park headquarters disturbed the archaeological remains of earlier settlements (Scott 1888; Pilcher 1964). One thing is clear, however, and that is, Lakotas and Cheyennes frequently returned to Hot Springs after 1877 to bathe and camp. According to accounts from non-Indian residents in the area, it was not uncommon for some Lakota families to remain in the area over an entire summer.

The geological resources of the park and neighboring locales also drew the interest of European Americans. Although the entire area was prospected, there was never any developed mining on park lands other than a limekiln at the southwestern edge of the park. Sandstone was quarried, and gypsum was processed at nearby locations outside park boundaries. Of course, the thermal waters at Hot Springs were a major attraction for European Americans, and the foundation for the town's development.

The mild winter climate, sheltered recesses, as well as good water, timber, and grazing areas of the park also recommended this area as a location not only for various kinds of tribal economic

activity and occupation, but also for European Americans to settle. In certain respects, early European uses of and adaptations to the area of Wind Cave National Park hardly differed from the tribal nations who preceded them. Tribal populations no doubt grazed their horses on the rich grasses that covered the Race Track and the foothills of this area, something later generations of European American certainly did. In fact, several ranches inside the park and on its borders were engaged in the raising of thoroughbred horses in the late nineteenth century. The main distinction between the two populations was the species of ungulate that became the focus of their livelihoods and adaptations to the region. For tribal peoples, it was the bison until they were extirpated from the area in the 1850s, and for European Americans, it was domesticated livestock, especially cattle introduced in the region during the 1870s.

From the 1880s until the 1930s, a small population of homesteaders established ranches on park lands, and the remains of some of these are part of the park's archaeological record. Except for a few families, such as the McAdams, McDonalds, and Stablers, little has been written about the lives of those who settled on or near park properties, although much more has appeared on some of the families who occupied areas adjacent to the park. What has been reported in historic records, oral traditions, and the writings of local historians is that much of the park area was used to graze livestock through the early decades of the twentieth century. Small sections of land especially at level, well-watered locations were also used to cultivate gardens, to raise "kitchen" stock, and to grow various grain crops for cash or animal feed. Most of the early ranching families were small operators who made modest livelihoods through mixed economic strategies, which included subsistence food production and various kinds of wage-work. Some local ranchers and their family members even worked on construction or served as guides, rangers, and administrators for the park after it was established in 1903. There were also larger, investor-based ranches on park lands in the 1880s, including the one run by Charles Valentine. This ranch and others established on the park's eastern boundaries ran large herds of cattle on park properties.

Much of the park's history from the 1880s to the 1930s is tied to the region's ranching tradition and its dependence on the use of public lands. Historically, access to open ranges, at little or no cost, made livestock raising an attractive and profitable endeavor for small and large operators alike, and it played a critical role in the development of the region's cattle industry. It also created a powerful political interest group with a stake in maintaining traditional European American user relationships to the Black Hills' public spaces. Until the competing interests of the travel, leisure, and recreation industry entered the picture, local ranchers carried considerable influence in shaping the policy of land use on public properties, including those that came under the management of the National Park Service at Wind Cave. In some ways, Wind Cave National Park was probably unique in comparison to other national parks because of the length of time in which livestock grazing, prohibited at most parks, prevailed here. Besides the fact that the park's primary attraction was subterranean, the continuation of grazing was probably linked to two other realities. First, the park's early managers and employees had vested interests in maintaining the *status quo* because they were local landholders who ran their own stock on park properties. Secondly, because the park occupied an orphan-like status relative to other parks in the national park system, it received hardly any revenue in its early years of operation. Maintaining grazing permits and privileges well into the twentieth century may very well have served as an important source of revenue and also an incentive for some locals to assume caretaking responsibilities for the park.

Whatever the case, it is clear that in the 1930s park policies began to change, moving away from sustaining a local ranch-based economy towards a greater involvement in and support for the region's developing leisure, travel, and recreation industry (Long 1992). From the time Wind Cave was developed as a privately owned tourist attraction in the 1880s to 1903, when it became

a publicly-owned one, much of the focus of park activity centered on the cave. Over time, and as the local ranching economy and spa industry in Hot Springs declined, the cave assumed greater importance as a critical resource in the region's tourism. Throughout much of the twentieth century, the park contributed to the local economies of Custer and Fall River counties not only by bringing tourist dollars to local businesses but also by being the employer of a large local work force. This contribution has not been inconsequential, especially as a greater portion of the region's economic wealth became dependent on this industry. By the 1930s, when the park took over management of the adjoining national game preserve, its above ground wildlife began to equal, if not, surpass the cave as a central attraction for tourists. The health and well-being of the park's bison, elk, antelope, and prairie dogs took on increasing importance in the overall scheme of the park, and by extension, greater efforts were made to preserve and restore the land to some semblance of its "original" state. Increasingly, park properties became associated with more restricted, non-extractive uses. Except for fishing and berry picking, all of the activities allowed on park land including camping, sightseeing, and hiking, catered to the region's growing leisure, recreation, and tourist industry and the interest groups that supported these pastimes. As part of this process, the park's representation of itself became increasingly divorced from the history of the many different peoples who had occupied and used park lands for extractive purposes since prehistoric times. The bulk of its interpretive narratives focused on the region's natural history with hardly any attention given to its human history of occupation by tribal peoples or European Americans. Most of the people-based history concentrates on the cave, its discovery and exploration, or on park construction, especially the structures built when the CCC camps were in operation during the 1930s.

The Black Hills in general and Wind Cave National Park in particular were witness to a succession of different ethnic groups who adapted themselves to the area in a number of different and very specific ways. The history of these adaptations and some of the cultural traditions associated with them provide textually rich narratives that deserve as much attention in park interpretive programming as the stories on its natural resources. From the material covered in the next section, which focuses on the specific faunal, floral, and mineral resources of the area, we can come to certain conclusions about the ways different groups historically used park properties. However these groups adapted to the area, and whatever resources they took from it, one thing is clear, and that is, this region has always been a common ground, an area in which people of diverse backgrounds lived and traveled.